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ABSTRACT

This document contains papers (with abstracts) from two conferences on second language learning and language academies held at the University of Kentucky (Lexington) in April of 1985 and 1986 respectively. Papers and authors are as follows: "Language Planning and the International Vocabulary" (J. Lihani); "Merriam-Webster and the Changing English Language" (F. C. Mish); "The Academie Francaise and the French Language: Friends or Foes?" (J. T. Chamberlain); "Political Poetics: The Academie Francaise in the Seventeenth Century" (R. Lockwood); "General Problematics of a Quebec French Dictionary: Dictionnaire du Francaise Quebecois" (C. Poirier); "The Academie Colombiana de la Lengua and the Instituto Caro y Cuervo: History, Organization, and Mission" (T. R. Arrington); "The Spanish Royal Academy" (F. Ayala); "The Academies of the Spanish Language in the United States" (J. C. Zamora); "Politics and Language: The Crises of the Academy in Gunter Grass's 'Treffen in Telgte'" (A. Bohm); "The Greek Language Question" (C. A. Trypanis); "Swahili Policy Implementation in Tanzania: The Role of the National Swahili Council (BAKITA)" (A. S. Dunn); "Translation Applications for Word Processors at the Department of State" (A. Krinsky); "Human Interface with Machine Translation" (M. Cote); "The Study and Programming of the Linguistic 'Formants' as Basis for the Terminology Norm" (M. Criedo de Val); "Machine Translation: Present Status and Future Outlook in the Global Milieu" (M. Zarechnak); "Stress Assignment in Letter to Sound Rules for Speech Synthesis" (K. Church); "National Language Academies: The Hierarchical Aspect of Goals in Language Planning" (F. Nuessel); "Global Demands on Language: The Experience of One Spanish Textbook Author-Editor" (T. Dorwick); "Internationalization of the Slavic Languages" (J. Mistrik). An index is provided. (LB)

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**GLOBAL DEMANDS ON LANGUAGE
AND THE MISSION OF
THE LANGUAGE ACADEMIES**

**Proceedings of the Conference on National Language
Academies and Their Mission (April 25-27, 1985)**

and

**The International Symposium on National Language
Academies and Global Demands on Language
(April 25-26, 1986).**

Kentucky Foreign Language Conference

**John Lihani
Editor**

THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

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PREFACE

The compilation of essays in this brief book is the result of talks presented at two meetings of language teachers and scholars at the University of Kentucky. At these meetings in 1985 and 1986 an international array of scholars met to consider the avowed mission of the national language academies as it relates to the global demands being made on languages. These conferences demonstrated the preoccupation that many scholars share in their quest for a standardized system for the formation and accompanying utilization of both the venerated time-tested, as well as of the more recently coined international terminology.

The essays in this volume are meant to focus attention on those public and private organizations that are concerned with and are helping in the materialization of better human communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

It is the cherished hope of the conference participants and authors of the following studies that the reader will pause to ponder the means by which each individual member of the human race can hope to comprehend better any other human being on this planet.

In reading the essays, the reader is advised that when a number appears in the text within a pair of parentheses, that number refers to the footnote at the conclusion of the essay. If there is a succession of two pairs of parentheses, the numbers enclosed in the first pair refer to the page number of a particular work just cited, and the second pair of parentheses contains the number referring to the footnote found at the end of the essay itself.

INTRODUCTION

Language Planning and the International Vocabulary

John Lihani
University of Kentucky

There is a global revolution taking place in commerce, society, and technology, the end of which is not yet in sight. The technological revolution includes society's means of communication. The changing means of communication are having staggering effects on human life. The resounding crash of a financial market in one city spreads instantaneously to all the financial centers around the globe whereupon it rebounds mutually and reciprocally throughout the world in short order. So it happens with other forms of interdependent, intertwined affairs of human life.

The world's languages are reflecting this revolution. During many millenia of time they have experienced countless changes, developments, and even extinction. Over eons of time untold numbers of tongues have come and gone; others have spread over vast territories or multiplied into new languages. Such has been the case of Proto-Indo-European which diverged into several families including the Proto-Germanic, Proto-Romance, Proto-Slavic, and these in turn diverged into Germanic, Romance, and Slavic sub-branches. The human race is faced today with 5445 different languages,(1) but only a score of which are spoken by 50 million speakers or more. Among these --the megalanguages-- there is currently clear evidence that they are drawing closer together, rather than pulling farther apart, while at the same time they staunchly maintain their individual identity. The contemporary tendency of languages to converge is in contrast to their traditional inclinations to differentiate and to drift apart.

Today, the instantaneous speech communication on a global scale has placed the world's dynamic languages in continual contact. Their collision often results in the interchange of old and new words which then transcend their identification with single languages. Thus the exchanged words fail to recognize any frontiers and extend beyond the confines of their linguistic boundaries,

flowing relatively freely from one language to another. Hence a new reality in the life of languages is realized in which a sizable number of international words, the *globolect*, is being established in many languages, making them, along with English and Spanish, languages without borders.

There are hundreds of neologisms that are formed each year. Some in a rather helter-skelter way but others are formed with a certain sense of standardization. Often they are formed on Latin or Greek roots, thereby receiving a cloak of linguistic neutrality and immediately allowing for quicker, world-wide comprehension of the concepts they represent. The creeping proliferation of neologisms throughout the mega and microlanguages of the world has reached such proportions that increasing attention to their existence is unavoidable.

National language academies have a challenge facing them in the form of the *globolect*. Do they support a receptive ambiance for international words in their language, or do they choose to oppose their entry into the daily expressiveness, and instead substitute them by native calques or translations of the terms in question? The reactions to the *globolect* differ from country to country. Some academies encourage their people to accept new words liberally into their national speech, in the same way that English does without the benefit of a language academy. Some language representatives, like those of Hungary and France, try to keep a closed door to the international vocabulary and thereby hinder their own countrymen in global communicability.

Fortunately, a semblance of global taxonomy is being afforded to the neologisms through the work of the United Nations. International committees of scientists from various fields have given of their time and efforts in recent years to systematizing and standardizing the new terms arising in their particular fields. They are thereby advancing global comprehension within their special scientific area. But such efforts of international committees are only the beginning of what may transpire in the near future for the benefit of the world's inhabitants. Communication by satellite and the constantly expanding global commerce and travel are new forces that

press for uniformity in the formation and meaning of new words. The result is that the vast majority of neologisms are being adapted in similar form and meaning by the systems of many of the world's languages. This uniformity allows the words to reach beyond their national frontiers with greater clarity. The cognate nature of the neologisms facilitates communication by individuals of any number of languages, and of any number of ethnic groups, in their contacts with other persons who belong to other cultures and who speak other languages. The advantages of spreading and encouraging the reception of cognate words interlinguistically are self evident.

Consequently, the rapid growth of new international words that are shared commonly by several languages requires global attention by language scholars around the world.

The pressing need to adopt words for use on broad international and interlinguistic levels is leading to the consideration, development and fulfillment of at least three very important desiderata for global communication:

- 1) development of new versions of globolectal dictionaries,
- 2) internationalizing of the foreign language pedagogy, and
- 3) applying new discoveries of electronic technology to life's daily necessities for global entrepreneurs.

For the first pressing desideratum: --the development of new versions of globolectal dictionaries-- there is an expressed need to establish additional international data centers, centers that would be concerned with megalanguage and globolect studies. Those centers that already exist in the translation division of NATO, in the U.S. Department of State, and in the world's various foreign ministries are insufficient to carry the volume of translation that modern commercial exchanges demand. The world desperately awaits the classification and codification of extensive, yet versatile international vocabularies. Who better than the linguists and lexicographers can be sought to devote more of their energies to the production of multilingual dictionaries on international cognates and homonyms in the world's 5445 idioms? Such dictionaries, concentrating on globolectal terms with declared multilingual purposes will enhance global communication and will facilitate mutual understanding among peoples speaking different idioms.

One logical center for the international vocabulary projects are the national language academies wherever they exist. Many of them came into being in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the specific purpose of caring for the particular country's national language, to defend it, to cleanse it, and to give it splendor. Among the first academies to be formed was the Italian language academy known as the Crusca, which was founded in 1541 in Florence. Its purpose was to "purify" the Italian language and to make it a more effective medium of communication for all of Italy. The idea of an organization with these responsibilities was picked up by other national groups of Europe, which after forming their academies became very effective. This was the case of the Académie Française, founded in 1637, and later of the Spanish Royal Academy, which was founded in 1713.

Over the years of their existence, however, some of the academies relinquished or lost much of their influence, and have become mere honorary social clubs. Some languages have remained without an official organ to support them. The German and the English philological groups failed in their efforts to establish official control over their respective languages. But there were other enterprises that sprang up to fill the void of an academy both in German and English speaking lands, and their languages continue to prosper and thrive despite a lack of a monolithic central authority to guide their adaptations to changing times. Some governments, like the French and Spanish, have gone beyond the academy stage in their desire to strengthen their service to the world through their idioms, while at the same time they have tried to maintain the monolithic, unified structure of their language around the face of the earth. Since 1985, both the French and Spanish governments have been convening international congresses to propagate their respective national idioms. What has prompted them to this action is the challenging universality of English, which the vast majority of the world's language learners voluntarily select as their most desirable second tongue.

Indeed even in the People's Republic of China there are reportedly 250 million people studying English. This is a great force for the future that may overshadow the

enormous success the Japanese have met abroad through their cultivation of English for trade growth and business purposes. In the past, the spread of languages followed the sword; today their extension has become a matter of voluntary choice made freely by the individual. English is spreading as a *lingua franca* in part because English itself, besides being culturally and economically important, is also by far the most democratic of all the world's languages, for it will accept any word into its system at any time from any place, whether it be from Czech (robot), Russian (*glasnost*), Chinese (*chow mein*), Japanese (judo), Arabic (safari), or from any other language imaginable. Unlike the French language, which officially attempts to close its doors to loanwords, English has become the most versatile language, by virtue of its relatively freewheeling vocabulary that absorbs concepts wherever it can find them to serve its purposes of communication.

The lesson that is being learned is that languages which close their doors to ideas from without are doing a great disservice to their own speakers, simply because they reduce their effectiveness inside and outside their own frontiers. The closed languages, which do not freely accept foreign words lose their effectiveness especially when their speakers find themselves outside their milieu. Only another language, even more open than English will replace the latter as the world's *lingua franca*, but at present there is none, except Spanish, which is deliberately and openly equipped and attuned to compete with English for voluntary global acceptance as a means of personal communication.

It is first through the registry of words in the dictionaries that speakers become better aware of the recognized power of their language. Dictionaries in every language, whether they be the product of a formal official governmental organization or of an individual commercial enterprise, or of a combination of these, are an indispensable guide, or point of departure, for maintaining a semblance of official usage. As the early dictionaries prepared the pattern for the establishment of national languages at the close of the medieval feudal period, so the modern dictionaries need to reflect, as many of them

already do, the international character of the idioms they register in their pages.

In sum, creation of data centers and production of multilingual homonymic lexicons is a long and arduous, but extremely important task. Dictionaries of multilingual globolectal terms, whether the terms be called cognates, homonyms, homographs, or homophones, comprise a high priority for documenting the long road the languages are traveling toward convergence of sectors of their vocabulary.

The second of the three desiderata is the internationalizing of the foreign language pedagogy. Histories, civilizations and cultures of other peoples have long been treated as part and parcel of language texts. But beyond understanding and tolerance of different cultures is the supremely important ability to communicate with them. And the idea of communication is to make it as efficient, economical and current as is possible. To achieve this, the pedagogical system needs to take advantage of as much overlap between languages as it can. This is where the international vocabulary renders its greatest service. Dictionaries of international terminology are an indispensable tool for the modernization and revision of the lexical content of foreign language textbooks. This necessitates the introduction in far greater numbers of cognates into language texts than has been the usual practice till now. Placing an emphasis on words in international usage, rather than on local idiomatic usage, allows new learners of a second or third language to acquire a much more powerful range of vocabulary than is possible with restricted idiomatic expressions, because the latter are limited to the confines of only one nation's vernacular. The best basic foreign language vocabulary that a new language learner can acquire is one that is of a cross-linguistic, cross-cultural nature. It goes almost without saying that those languages which allow their speakers to reach farthest beyond their borders and around the globe are the languages that best serve their national citizens. Those are the languages that are taking, and will take, precedence, if not predominance, in the public's global life-style-view.(2)

The third category of desiderata --that of applying new discoveries of electronic technology to life's daily necessities for global entrepreneurs-- is already well under way. Technology has revolutionized the style of modern life and continues to heap the greatest effects upon it. Electronic technology is making the coveted ingenious dreams of humankind's past ages become a reality. Advances in the electronic field are recorded with stunning frequency. Breakthroughs that used to occur every three or four years are now occurring on a yearly, even monthly basis. And intervals of these breakthroughs are growing shorter and shorter. The impossible has turned out merely to be the difficult, and what was once difficult is now routine practice.

While there is evidence that both natural and artificial languages strive for expedient interlinguistic comprehensibility, the gradual convergence of vocabularies in the natural languages is moving at what appears to some observers to be an infinitesimally slow pace --too slow to keep up with international demands. These observers perceive little evidence that there will be anything akin to new hybrid languages like "franglais, englañol, or spanglish" in the foreseeable future. It is true that Anglo-Saxon convoluted with French in the centuries following the Norman conquest of England in 1066 A.D., and thus produced what became Chaucer's English in the fifteenth century. The slow pace of linguistic convolution is compounded by the fact that the international vocabularies are often confined to technical activities, while the basic words in each language, the words that sustain daily social intercourse, strongly resist leveling. The basic notions and activities of daily life in different tongues maintain their individuality and idiomatic flavor as part of their inherent nature. It's very likely that a listing of international words would produce a total that would be insufficient for the communicative needs of even basic-survival among speakers of different languages. Basic-survival international vocabulary of sufficient breadth and magnitude may not materialize for generations to come. On the other hand, electronic innovations and their application to interlingual human communication can

become a reality within a few decades, if not within a matter of just one generation.(3)

It should be born in mind, in the meantime, that extensively used universal languages have come to and also have gone from the scene. During the last several centuries since the medieval period, Latin has been replaced as a lingua franca in the Western cultures, and its role has been assumed successively by Italian, French, German and finally by English. Every region of the globe boasts its own lingua franca, and while it is true that English is the closest thing there is at present to a universal language, it must be recalled that only about 9% of the world's population speaks English as a native tongue, while almost 20% speaks a form of Mandarin Chinese. It is within the realm of probability that English may someday be surpassed in global importance by some other language, equally adept, and as easy to learn as English. In the same manner that other languages ceased to serve their world community as lingua francas, so English may ultimately experience a similar fate.

How long English will be the people's choice as the most learnable language, vis-à-vis Chinese, or Russian, or any other language, is anybody's guess. The older the language, the simpler its grammatical structure seems to become, and while English is one of the oldest, the grammatical simplicity of Mandarin Chinese may edge it out of first place once the Chinese Latinized orthography wins more converts to it. Still, all human languages are for practical purposes equally difficult to learn --it is only that their difficulties are distributed and concentrated in different ways. Sometimes the difficulties are concentrated in grammar, sometimes in spelling, at other times in pronunciation, and still at other times in vocabulary. But one thing remains clear: all languages are humanly accessible and learnable. By the same token, all languages are equally suitable to handle the needs of their respective cultures. They are also all equally dramatic, poetic, musical, or rhythmic, and all are, without question, equally beautiful and dear to their speakers. It is now the globolect, the common international dialect so to speak, which exists within the lexical corpus of several

languages, that is creating the converging transnational communicative forces today.

In the final analysis, while it is true that languages are converging, it is worth repeating that convergence is a very slow process. So slow, in fact, that to some it seems infinitesimal indeed. Yet, the day may come soon when two people of different languages can pick up a telephone in their respective countries, and each person speaking his own tongue, whatever it may be, can communicate his ideas clearly to the other person by means of simultaneous machine translation and a combination of voice recognizers and voice synthesizers. This exchange will be made possible only through the marvel of electronics, not by any other human talent. By means of electronics, machine translation hookups can be created that will be operable with the press of a button.

There are already devices that read printed words about as well as humans do. They decipher the printed matter and articulate it, thus converting print to speech by electronic means. There are, similarly, machines that listen to spoken words and can convert them into printed form. At present, these latter machines are not as yet developed to their full capacity. Likewise, there are mechanisms that can translate the printed words of one language into printed words of another. The problem now is to join these three component wonders of electronics into a unified efficient operation. It is, nevertheless, possible to voice-input a source language into a computer, then let the translating computer take over to convert the voice-input into an intermediate language in print, and then have a third computer enter the scene to decipher the print and from it to produce a result in the form of a synthesized voice-output in the target language.

Thus, it is altogether possible that in the not-too-distant-future, a global traveler can equip him/herself with a portable device that can be used when traveling in a foreign land to translate his or her own speech and convey it on the spot to the native listener in the latter's own tongue. By the same token s/he can comprehend her/his host's speech by virtue of reciprocating devices. One can visualize speakers of English, Russian, Chinese, or of any number of other languages communicating

individually through the aid of portable electronic speech recognizers, translators, and synthesizers on any portion of the globe. The research now being done with superconductors holds promise for miniaturization of computers to the extent that these types of apparent science-fiction concepts can indeed become realities.

Personal translator devices could conceivably revolutionize individual relations on this earth. The consolidating effect of the translating device may equal the creative forces that national languages once possessed during the establishment of modern nation-states, when the powers of feudal barons and medieval city-states were surpassed by national governments. The centuries old status of national languages is passing to the global scene as international interdependent life transcends political boundaries. Is the world ready to recognize the fact that several megalanguages, English, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese among them, have exceeded the restrictions of national frontiers like transnational corporations, and that electronics will continue to create marvels that will solidify lifestyles shaped by global considerations? The seriousness of this has been pointed out by the high level meetings of government representatives with educators, with members of the media, and with international corporations to map out strategies for decreasing future problems of communication. The francophone and hispanophone summits, held for the first time in 1985, are convening now on an annual basis to deal with international language planning problems confronting their respective tongues. The Slavic (Slavonic) languages are undergoing a process of deliberate internationalization in order to make them more effective on a world-wide stage and to bear their share of global burdens alongside of English, Spanish, French and others. The language researchers around the globe can perhaps find inspiration and renewed dedication for their labors in language planning, as they attempt to make the Earth more secure, and the fragile life upon it a more comfortable one for all through more expedient means of personal communication.

NOTES

(1) This figure has varied since one of the early language counts was made public in 1939. At that time, the world's known languages amounted to 2796 (Louis H. Gray, 1939. Foundations of Language. New York: Macmillan). This figure was increased considerably by 1974 with new knowledge of the languages gathered by the Lutheran Bible Translators that formulated the figure set at 5687. This amount was reduced somewhat to that of 5103 in 1979 (Ethnologue) after a census in Asia revealed the consolidation of some languages into broader family groups, and the entire disappearance of others. The most recent count in 1984 gave the result of 5445. See, Barbara F. Grimes, ed., 1984. Languages of the World. Ethnologue. Tenth edition. Dallas: Wycliffe Bible Translators, p. xvi.

(2) Works on any aspect of language are too numerous to attempt to list here in a useful bibliography. A sample of a good text dealing with international vocabulary is the Swedish publication: Alvar Ellegard and Arne Olofsson, 1982. De internationella orden. Allmän språkkunskap för gymnasieskolan. Uppsala: Liber Läromedel, 280 pp. And of the many useful journals dealing with international languages, at least one (Multilingua. Amsterdam and New York: Mouton, from 1982 on), should be mentioned. The reader who may wish to delve further into the literature on languages and on topics relative to them, such as their pedagogy, description, etc., can do so by consulting the Modern Language Association Bibliography for studies published annually around the world. The MLA Bibliography is available in almost any college or university library as well as in many public libraries.

The MLA Bibliography is a most complete and useful one on matters relative both to the natural and artificial varieties of the world's tongues. The artificial languages like Esperanto (invented by Lazarus Zamenhof in the nineteenth century), and Interlingua (presented in the form of an Interlingua-English Dictionary by Alexander Gode in 1951), are just two of several hundreds whose ranks are expanding annually. It must be admitted that all such attempts serve useful purposes in focusing on the

desperate search by humankind for the power to communicate universally.

(3) There are many publications that devote their pages to reports on the progress of machine translation and on the advances in electronic communications. The MLA Bibliography once again is the starting place for the interested reader to seek out such treatises for additional information beyond the informative essays published within this collection.

ABSTRACTS

Page

Merriam-Webster and the Changing English Language FREDERICK C. MISH 1

Abstract. The point of departure taken here is the differing nature of the Merriam-Webster enterprise from the national language academies. The dictionary, while important to teachers and students, is in itself of less consequence in the daily speech of the general public. It is nevertheless considered the "Voice of Authority" on English in America. The international vocabulary is less problematic to Merriam-Webster than it is to the language academies. The "globolect" is considered chiefly as a scientific and technical vocabulary (amounting to some 12,000 entries), and constitutes only a small portion of the words of the English language. In the last twenty years, one third of the international scientific vocabulary has originated outside of English, while the greatest number of the scientific or technological terms derives from English itself. English has thus contributed more to the "globolect" than it has borrowed, but like other languages, English also has experienced some difficulties in digesting the international terms. (ED.)

The Académie Française and the French Language: Friends or Foes?

JEFFREY T. CHAMBERLAIN

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Abstract. The French Academy has arbitrated matters of language from the first edition of the Dictionary (1694) to the publication of the Grammaire de l'Académie Française (1932). The Academy, however, despite its intended mission, has in fact throughout its history had relatively little influence on questions of linguistic prescriptivism in France. The long-awaited publication of the 1932 Grammaire caused a scandal and may be said to have led, to the creation in 1937 of the Office de la Langue Française, the first of several institutions established to carry on the Academy's original (unfulfilled) mission. This paper analyzes various criticisms leveled against the pronouncements of the Academy in matters of language, and attempts to identify the current sources of linguistic

authority in France and other French-speaking regions.
(JTC)

Political Poetics: The Académie Française in the Seventeenth Century

RICHARD LOCKWOOD

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Abstract. The Académie Française flourished under the Sun King, Louis XIV, with a dual mission, linguistic and political. These two functions shaped the Academy as what it remains, the visible emblem of political control over a culture that is defined as restricted, normative, and a property of the nation. But the two functions conflict in the way they understand language: as the opaque medium of poetics and rhetoric, or as a transparent material for conveying ideological representations. This conflict is particularly visible in the texts the paper examines, speeches where the Academy praises the King. The Academy's job is to aid the King by praising him, yet it must also argue that in fact the King stands beyond the power of mere words to add or detract. Surprisingly, rather than bring the Academy's conflicting missions to breakdown, this paradox turns out in these speeches to serve as the basis for articulating successful praise, and thus these speeches suggest how the contradictory will to transcend language by codifying it underlies absolutist ideology which characterizes language academies. (RL)

General Problematics of a Quebec French Dictionary: Dictionnaire du Français Québécois

CLAUDE POIRIER.

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Abstract. A research team, called "Trésor de la langue française au Québec," is currently working on a first historical dictionary of Quebec French: Dictionnaire du français québécois (DFQ). This dictionary is intended to be a basis for any further lexicographic work and to foster a collective reflexion on a "normal" Quebec French usage. The aim of the editors of the DFQ is to answer questions Quebecers have been asking for a long time about their language: what is different from standard French? Where do the differences come from? How are Quebecisms (formal, semantic and phraseological

particularities) used in everyday language? This paper gives a brief survey of problems the editors have to deal with in their attempt to throw light on Quebecisms and to explain the origins of these lexical differences. One of the main problems is connected with the impression Quebecers have that most of the differences between their French and standard French are due to English. The DFQ project lies within a collective reflexion Quebecers have undertaken at the beginning of the 19th century about their language and which has become a real social issue since the early 1960's. (CP)

The Academia Colombiana de la Lengua and the Instituto Caro y Cuervo: History, Organization, and Mission

TERESA R. ARRINGTON

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Abstract. Colombia was the first Spanish American country to have an Academy of the Language chartered by the Real Academia de la Lengua in Spain (in 1871). Two of the original directors of that Colombian Academy were Miguel Antonio Caro and Rufino José Cuervo, for whom the Instituto Caro y Cuervo was named. In honor of the centenary of their birth, the Instituto was created by law in 1942 as an arm of the Ateneo de Altos Estudios. This paper briefly outlines the history and organization of these two institutions in an effort to compare and/or contrast their current missions with respect to language in Colombia. (TRA)

The Spanish Royal Academy

FRANCISCO AYALA

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Abstract. Founded in 1714 and now with 46 members, the Spanish Royal Academy lacks homogeneity and gradually has lost some of its authority in linguistic precepts. It now needs to adjust to the social realities of the day. Yet, the linguistic norms codified by the Academy are observed equally beyond Spanish borders as within them through the cooperation of the associate academies proliferating the Spanish speaking world. The Academy now seeks to join forces with the communications media to achieve the propagation of the standard forms of expression, and at the same time to utilize electronic

resources in order to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing body of vocabulary. (ED.)

The Academies of the Spanish Language in the United States

JUAN C. ZAMORA

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Abstract. There are two Spanish language academies in the U.S.: The Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española (New York City) and the Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española (San Juan). They have both been recognized by the Real Academia Española and by the Spanish American National Academies. The author discusses the reason for being, composition, functioning and contributions of these academies. He further reveals how their international recognition contributes to the consideration of Spanish as a national language in the U.S. Sociolinguistic considerations --including standard language development and language planning-- are used as a frame of reference for the presentation. (JCZ)

Politics and Language: The Crises of the Academy in Günter Grass's *Treffen in Telgte*

ARND BOHM

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Abstract. To the present, the situation of German language academies, divided along political lines, is a reflection of political as well as linguistic concerns. The regulation of discourse, through the control of spelling, pronunciation, syntax and so forth, implies struggles for authority both inside and outside the domain of the academy. In France, authority and privilege derived from the interest of the central government. Without such a political center, German academy projects became identified with the struggle for unification at a most basic level. In his satire on the projectors of the seventeenth century, Grass lays bare contradictions and conflicts which have precluded German writers and poets from establishing a unified, legitimated academy. The failure to do so is seen by Grass as being ultimately a failure of writing, of language itself, when it strives against the political order. (AB)

The Greek Language Question

C. A. TRYPANIS

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Abstract. The roots of the so-called Modern Greek Language Question go very far back; they can in fact be traced right up to the end of the first century B.C. By Modern Greek Language Question we mean the existence in Greece today of two more or less distinct forms of Modern Greek, the *Katharevousa*, an erudite, highbrow form deriving from a static written tradition of many centuries, and the *demotike*, a spoken form due to a living, developing spoken tradition which falls into several dialects. These, however, tend to disappear today, because of the "common" compromise-Greek which is taught at school or used by the public administration, radio, television, the press and the armed services. But, if we are to understand the serious linguistic problems of modern Greece, we must trace, even though it be in bare outline, the development of the Greek language from antiquity to the present day, a very long, but at the same time, a most interesting process. (CAT)

Swahili Policy Implementation in Tanzania: The Role of the National Swahili Council (BAKITA)

ANDREA S. DUNN

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Abstract. This paper describes the structure and activities of the National Swahili Council (BAKITA), the official governmental agency in charge of the coordination and implementation of Tanzania's Swahili language policy. One of BAKITA's activities, the preparation of new vocabulary for subjects where Swahili has not previously been used, has been criticized in preliminary evaluations which show that the new vocabulary is not readily accepted. It is suggested here that problems in the creation, dissemination, and acceptance of new vocabulary might be avoided through the adoption of a model of the vocabulary expansion process such as that proposed by Marshad (1984). (ASD)

Translation Applications for Word Processors at the Department of State

AMY KRINSKY

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Abstract. The author describes the process of utilizing word processors in translating governmental documents. Over 60 languages are involved in the Translating Division of the Department of State dealing with contemporary diplomacy. A document comes to the supervisory reviewers, then goes to translators, and further reviewers, and finally to typists for its final form. Word processors have revolutionized the translating jobs, not only speeding up the operation, but also easing the translator's toil and saving untold hours of work. But problems still remain, like gaining access to a terminology bank used by international organizations and expanding the number of languages handled by the processor. (ED.)

Human Interface with Machine Translation

MAUREEN COTE

131

Abstract. The author proposes a means of assessing the effectiveness of machine translation based on the end user's need for accuracy. The discussion is illustrated by examples from the U.S. Air Force's Russian Systran system and includes references to the Canadian METEO and Pan American Health Organization's translation systems. (MC)

The Study and Programming of the Linguistic "Formants" as Basis for the Terminology Norm

MANUEL CRIADO DE VAL

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Abstract. The author, after a brief history of attempts to establish a recognized and funded organ to aid in the formation of scientific terminology in Spanish, presents the work carried out on formants, which are the crucial bases for creating a new technical terminology with global validity. To achieve a dictionary of formants, it is necessary first to survey the present situation, in which the scientific language has shown a preference for Greek over Latin derivations in the creation of neologisms. Progress on terminological research depends on funding for coordination of official and private institutions working on this subject, and on gaining the cooperation of Spanish and Spanish-American groups to form

international data centers. The creation of scientific neologisms has been relegated in most instances to the scientists themselves and to their translators, who have not heeded systems of derivation in accordance with linguistic structures. To fulfill the need, for a normative formation of scientific terms, it is necessary first to produce coordinated formants at least between the Anglo-Saxon and Romance languages. Finally, there is a need to establish a computerized program of formants with their dictionary that would provide the universal, systematic norms for the formation of technical words. (ED.)

Machine Translation: Present Status and Future Outlook in the Global Milieu

MICHAEL ZARECHNAK

151

Abstract. The foreseeable future will demand a rapid increase in translation on a multilanguage level. The prevailing amount of it will go from non-English languages into English and vice versa.

The short history of Machine Translation (MT) research went through three stages: the first IBM-GU MT experiment which proved that the MT is feasible. It was followed by the development of the working system GAT of Georgetown University (GU) and similar GU-derived MT systems which were abruptly stopped by the ALPAC report. The third phase is taking place after the ALPAC report.

There is a need to develop MT systems along the lines of mixed logical systems based partially on the theory of fuzzy sets. One of the tasks is to design an Intermediate Language (IL) for Multilanguage Machine Translation. The first step is necessarily the development of a metalanguage for IL. The following components will constitute the IL structure: some words directly from English to express quantifiers, qualifiers, particles, individual letters for class word coding, some numerical indexes referring to lexical entries, some semantic primitives with binary codes, and codes controlling semantic saturation likewise need to be provided. (MZ)

Stress Assignment in Letter to Sound Rules for Speech Synthesis

KENNETH CHURCH

173

Abstract. The author proposes to show how to determine word stress from spelling. Stress assignment is a well-established weak point for many speech synthesizers because stress dependencies cannot be determined locally, by looking through a five or six character window, as many speech synthesizers do. Examples such as *dégrade/dégradation* and *télégraph/télégraphy* demonstrate that stress dependencies can span over two and three syllables. Etymology is an even more striking problem for local determination of stress. Consider *calculi/tortóni* which should have the same stress pattern since they have the same sequence of stops, liquids and vowels. However, *tortóni* violates the English main stress rule (which is derived from Latin) and takes penultimate stress like most other Italian loan words: *Aldrighetti, angeletti, bellotti, iannucci, italiano, lombardino, marconi, morillo, olivetti*. A demonstration stressing Italian names with the Latin pattern yields some interesting results. (KC)

National Language Academies: The Hierarchical Aspect of Goals in Language Planning

FRANK NUESSEL

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Abstract. Moshe Nahir (1985) defines language planning as "deliberate, institutionally organized attempts at affecting the linguistic or sociolinguistic status or development of language." National language academies are important official organizations that determine the goals and establish the processes to facilitate the achievement of specific objectives in language planning. This paper examines selectively both processes (how something is done) and goals (what is done) in the case of several national academies (Yugoslavia, Israel, Canada, etc.) in order to illustrate some basic features of the language planning function of such agencies. (FN)

Global Demands on Language: The Experience of One Spanish Textbook Author/Editor

THALIA DORWICK

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Abstract. This paper deals with the global vocabulary of Spanish as it affects the processes of writing and editing Spanish language textbooks intended for colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. Areas developed include: words and groups of words that consistently create authorial/editorial problems; suggestions and complaints offered by textbook users; the attitudes of writers and writing teams; lexical guidelines offered by one editorial division; other textbook strategies used to deal with the question of lexical differences; and finally, suggestions as to how the profession might offer authors and editors guidance in this area. (TD)

Internationalization of the Slavic Languages

JOZEF MISTRIK

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Abstract. The Slavic languages rank fifth among the world's most popular idioms. They share at least 10% of the original Proto-Slavic vocabulary. In the course of migrations and wars which produced contact with other idioms, words from some 30 different tongues have penetrated into the Slavic domain, and have been nativized there. Technology and travel are responsible today for creating new international terms amounting to another 10% of the lexical corpus of the Slavic group. Loan words become commonly used by the native speakers. The international terms of the "globolect" are found mainly in journalistic writing and scientific treatises. Fifteen percent of the newspaper texts are comprised of globolectal terms, most of which are almost uniformly substantives. Internationalization of the Slavic languages is considered a healthy development which facilitates global communication. Examples are given of some globolectal terms. The author concludes by specifying that approximately 500 new international words are added to the lexicon of the Slavic languages annually and that this phenomenon is considered a simple process of modernization extending the reach of the Slavic languages into the global society. (ED.)

MERRIAM-WEBSTER AND THE CHANGING ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Frederick C. Mish
Merriam-Webster Inc.

I am not certain how well I, as one engaged solely in monolingual English lexicography, fit into a program concerned with international interinfluences of languages that we English speakers are pleased to call foreign. Nor am I confident that my organization, Merriam-Webster Incorporated, a commercial organization devoted to publishing English dictionaries and related kinds of reference books, really has a place among the national, language academies.

It is the latter point, the nature of my organization and its enterprise, and the very important ways it differs from the great academies, that I want to make my point of departure. The preliminary outline of the organizers' plan for this symposium conceded that the United States, indeed the English-speaking world, lacked an official national language academy, and indicated that my organization was to be invited to participate as "the most influential national entity that exercises surveillance over linguistic matters." That is certainly a flattering description, and perhaps not utterly unrelated to reality, at least as regards the United States. It contains, however, two words that I find a little disturbing. The less important for my purposes this morning is "influential," and I dismiss it with the simple observation that I think the influence of dictionaries, even big important dictionaries, is often exaggerated. It is exaggerated especially, I think, by students and teachers of language and literature, because dictionaries matter so greatly in so many different ways to them. It is otherwise, my experience tells me, with the general run of the users of the language; and it often seems to me that the lexicographers' influence is greatest, or at least most extensive, in essentially trivial matters, such as the styling of compound words and decisions about where to divide a word at the end of a line of writing or print. But that may reflect only the cynicism of an editor who looks at anywhere between half a dozen and three dozen

letters every working day from members of the general public.

The other unsettling word is "surveillance." Insofar as this word suggests that Merriam-Webster editors are continuous observers of the English language, it is perfectly accurate. And so is the implication that we operate undercover, so to speak, because no one is told when something he or she has written or spoken ends up in our ever-expanding file of citations. If "surveillance" is taken to suggest, however, that our work has something to do with catching out linguistic evil-doers, or even with a sort of gate-keeping function, then a serious misunderstanding has set in that calls for correction.

The plain fact is that there are major obstacles in the way of seeing Merriam-Webster as an American equivalent of a national language academy. In a review of Webster's Third New International Dictionary some twenty-five years ago, a review that for the most part was quite severe against us, the New York Times conceded that the book was, "as close as we can get in America to the Voice of Authority." We've had our revenge for the review by quoting this phrase on the dust jacket of the book over the years.

But if Merriam-Webster is the Authority, and the Third Edition is its Voice, that authority is derived from a quite different source than the authority of the national academies. Whatever authority we possess does not come from official standing or from the antiquity of the organization -though we may be ancient as Americans reckon these things- or from the renown of its members or from a linguistic mission conceived as a noble or heroic cultural undertaking. (We all doubtless remember Samuel Johnson's definition of a lexicographer as "a maker of dictionaries a harmless drudge.") Instead, our authority comes from the quality and quantity of evidence which we have gathered over many years concerning the vocabulary of English and on which our work is based, as well as from the cool, careful professionalism with which our work is carried on. I do not mean that similar considerations do not enhance the prestige of the academies; I mean only that these are the sole roots of our authority.

Since I suspect that some, perhaps many, of you have never visited the offices where a dictionary was actually being edited, and perhaps fewer or none have ever visited our offices in Springfield, Massachusetts, I want to say a few things about how we generally go about the business of editing dictionaries before I approach, somewhat tentatively, the question of our relationship to the international vocabulary.

Let me begin with two statements about the nature of dictionaries which, though now of a certain age, are to us as quick with insight and offer guidance as sound as when they were first made. The earlier is from an essay written by Noah Webster about midway between his first attempt at lexicography, the Compendious Dictionary of 1806 (a book in some ways rather like today's mass-market paperback dictionary) and his great masterpiece the American Dictionary of the English Language of 1828. In this essay Webster writes: "The business of a lexicographer is to collect, arrange, and define, as far as possible, all the words that belong to a language, and leave the author to select from them at his pleasure and according to his own taste and judgment." The second is the words of Archbishop Trench, describing to his fellow members of the Philological Society his idea of the historical dictionary which eventually became the Oxford English Dictionary. Trench writes: "A dictionary, then, according to that idea of it which seems to me alone capable of being logically maintained, is an inventory of the language... It is no task of the maker of it to select the good words of a language... The business which he has undertaken is to collect and arrange all the words, whether good or bad, whether they do or do not, commend themselves to his judgement, which ... those writing in the language have employed. He is an historian of it, not a critic."

Those of us who edit Merriam-Webster dictionaries continue to believe, as Webster and Trench believed, that lexicographers must work from the principle that the dictionary is a record of the language. Equally we believe that those who speak and write a language have complete freedom in accepting or rejecting the words that make up its vocabulary.

A record of the vocabulary of a language must necessarily be based on direct and permanent evidence of how words actually behave in use. We gather our evidence by a program of continuous reading of printed matter of all kinds, ranging across the whole spectrum of human knowledge, activity, and experience. With a small staff, of course, not everything can be examined all the time. So we move around a great deal, from subject area to subject area, from geographical area to geographical area, and from publication to publication.

Those things that we find of interest in our reading - new words, emerging new meanings, shifts in compounding style, and even the persistence of the familiar - all of that is recorded on 3 x 5 slips of paper (and now also stored in machine-readable form on tape) and the citation slips are placed in alphabetical order in rows of filing cabinets. They become the evidence on which our definers base their decisions. One of the key decisions a definer must make every day and many hundreds of times in the course of editing a dictionary of any size, is whether or not to enter a new word. When the dictionary is thought of as a record, then the definer's responsibility is not to approve or disapprove, but to inform - to hold a mirror up to the language for the benefit of people who use the dictionary.

In that context, the decision can be based, to a large extent, on pragmatic considerations. Is this term now in sufficiently widespread use that readers and hearers of English are likely to encounter it and want information about its meaning, its usage, its origin, its spelling, its pronunciation, its collocational possibilities, and so forth? If the answer to this question is yes, then the question of entry is very close to being settled. To be sure, other considerations must be figured in by the definer, as he or she examines the citations; sheer numbers are not everything. One wants to see a term appearing in a variety of sources, so that one does not give precious dictionary space to the idiosyncratic lexical pet of a particular writer or a particular publication. And one wants to have citations of use that span enough time to insure that the term has really established itself in the language. But a definer does not decide entry on the basis

of judgment about whether a word is in good taste or not, any more than the definition is formulated in terms of what the definer, or someone else, may think the word ought to mean.

Our approach to lexicography, then, tends to make the existence of an international vocabulary seem less problematic to us than I suspect it may seem to members of the national language academies. Now, presumably the relationship between English as one of the world's "megalanguages" and the international vocabulary is a reciprocal one. English contributes items to that common word stock, and items which, also presumably, exert an influence for good or ill on other "megalanguages" and on lesser languages as well. At the same time, the international vocabulary, to the extent that it comprises words from other languages -the foreign languages from the English point of view- influences the word-stock of English. The first aspect of this I am really not competent to address. I read occasional scholarly papers and more frequent reports in the popular press that concern the impact of English on other tongues, but I do not encounter the discrete phenomena of that impact in my working life, and so I lack a comprehensive view of what English gives (or perhaps "foists upon" is a better word) the international vocabulary. So I must confine my attention to the impact of the "globolect" upon English.

That impact is a part of my working life, though it seldom emerges as a consciously formulated concern, being instead distributed over the hundreds of thousands of words I deal with in my drudge-like way year after year. It is a complex, interesting matter, however, and I want to isolate just one or two aspects of it for my brief comments today. In what follows, I'm not working toward any overwhelming central point, merely touching upon a few things that happen to interest me.

I take the "globolect" to be chiefly a scientific and technical vocabulary. I am using both words, scientific and technical, rather broadly, because the social sciences are implicated as well as other technical or specialized vocabularies. As such, it is only a portion of the lexicon which English has borrowed from other languages in the last twenty years, and is only a very small portion of the

total increase in the word-stock of English during that period. English may well have contributed more to the "globolect" during that period of time than it has borrowed from it. These facts create some rather amusing and interesting paradoxes when we come to consider the differing attitudes of English speakers generally, and of lexicographers.

The fact that the English vocabulary has been exploding in the modern era certainly poses no problem for most English speakers, though it is a central problem for the lexicographers, who must find room for more and more entries in successive editions of their dictionaries without anything like a comparable number of entries that can be excised. Neither are speakers of English alarmed by large numbers of borrowed words. English has always been a magpie language, and in some periods its thefts have been on a far grander scale than they are today.

It is perhaps little surprising that such a welcoming attitude toward exotic words should prevail in this country, in view of our notorious indifference in learning of other languages -indifference leading to what the Washington Post last year called, "the general inability of Americans to speak anything but English with fluency... [which] only serves to limit their involvement and exchanges with other countries and lifestyles."

But we need only look (just to choose one small, perhaps trivial example) at the food-related terms that were added to the 1983 edition of Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, called Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, to see how that group is dominated by borrowed words: burrito, carbonara, lekvar, paupiette, pita, bok choy, sushi, rumaki, are just a few examples out of many that attest Americans' fascination of other ways of eating than McDonald's, and to them may be added words like shiatsu, for a kind of massage, salsa, for a kind of music, bichon frisee, for a kind of dog, and tae kwan do, for a kind of martial art, among many others.

Of course, such borrowings are essentially unrelated to the central international vocabulary of science and technology, and they need not always come from the "megalanguages" either. Within the modern period, just to cite a few examples, English has borrowed an important

word like ombudsman from Swedish and a very popular, but perhaps less important word like boondocks from Tagalog.

Lexicographers generally view these borrowings with the same equanimity as the general public. They require perhaps a bit more care in handling than words created out of native elements, because one must judge when they have stopped being foreign words used in an English contexts and have become, so to speak, naturalized citizens of the English vocabulary. Changes of the frequency with which such words are printed in italics and are glossed in the English context, however, give the dictionary editor a reasonable basis for that judgement, if the corpus of citations is large enough.

So we come at last to the international vocabulary of science and technology. It is a portion of the English lexicon that is rather small, if seen only as those words taken into English from the international vocabulary, certainly smaller than the sum of English borrowings and much smaller than all the new words of the language. At the same time, seen as in itself it really is-internationally- it is of enormous size. I have never done anything more than a casual kind of counting, but my not uneducated guess is that of the material in the Addenda Section of Webster's Third International Dictionary, material which now encompasses some 12,000 separate items in its current state (these are words and meanings added to the book since it was originally published in 1961), a full 60% or more are scientific and technical, technological even. And this is a general dictionary of English, one to which we would not be inclined to add such words unless we had evidence that they were being encountered by the general reader, and/or the college or university undergraduate student. Most of these words were, as far as we can tell, coined in English, so to whatever extent they are truly part of the "globolect," they are part of the influence of English on other languages, rather than the reverse. But herein lies one of the great difficulties that these words create for the English lexicographer: it is often difficult, or even impossible, to determine in what language one of these words was originally formed, which leaves the etymologist

in a difficult situation. One can etymologize the word as English, and risk inaccuracy, which may later be proved upon one, or one can utter the etymologist's cry of despair, "origin unknown," which is hardly a satisfactory solution either. The etymologists who worked on Webster's Third under the direction of Dr. Charles R. Sleeth, a comparative philologist with a principal interest in the ancient Germanic languages, devised what they saw and what we still see as being a worthy solution to this problem in the concept of International Scientific Vocabulary, abbreviated as ISV in our etymologies.

The term is defined as follows at its own alphabetical place in Webster's Third: "a part of the vocabulary of the sciences and other specialized studies that consists of words or other linguistic forms current in two or more languages and differing from New Latin in being adapted to the structure of the individual languages in which they appear." Except for the part about New Latin, which gives the definition its etymological orientation, this could almost be a definition of the term "globolect," could it not?

Somewhere between five thousand and ten thousand etymologies in Webster's Third -we don't know exactly, because the dictionary is not in machine-readable form, and there is no way to count, except by page by page-somewhere between five and ten thousand etymologies in Webster's Third contain the marker ISV, which continues to prove a useful device. Among the terms of the 1986 version of the Addenda Section to the book that include ISV are: arthroscopy, from the field of surgery, cyclosporine from pharmacy, operon from genetics, and stereology, a field of study in its own right. It is even occasionally and somewhat gingerly extended to terms which are not scientific in any sense of the word, when they meet the other criteria for application. Thus, for example, the word biathlon, in the Addenda Section, is etymologized with ISV.

Now, about a third of all the ISV terms are known with varying degrees of certainty to have originated in a particular language other than English. When this is certain or very probable, we name the language and cite the form in that language, as in the case of operon,

which probably was formed originally in French. When the word is known to have been formed in English, we do not use ISV at all. We simply etymologize it directly as being made up of English words or combining forms, even though the word may since have come to circulate freely through the "megalanguages" and other languages in which scientific discourse is published. The overwhelming majority of all words we would call scientific or technological are in Webster's Third simply etymologized as creations in English, or, like biology from the German, as straightforward borrowings from one language to another.

But the international vocabulary is not seen as a problem only by lexicographers. I have no reason to think it bothers the great mass of English speakers to any great extent; presumably they ignore it. But that vocal minority of language students whose chief concern is to preserve English from what they consider to be its impending demise, very frequently single out this part of the lexicon for their scornful attention. Such a concern is not at all new. Philip Gove, in an article of his, cites a reviewer of Joseph Worcester's dictionary of over a hundred years ago as criticizing Worcester for admitting "a multitudinous eruption of barbarous and unsightly terms," which may in time overwhelm "the old stock of English undefiled." These are, it turns out, "names of genera and species in botany and other branches of natural history." The style is Victorian, but the tone is just as contemporary as John Simon.

It seems, then, that while English is an utterly forgiving, accepting language -or if you feel less kindly toward it, a great mindless protoplasmic blob of a language that swallows up everything it comes in contact with- the international vocabulary of our time is one lump it is having some difficulty in digesting. And while Merriam-Webster's lexicographers are able to maintain descriptive detachment in the face of all the words they must consider, this vocabulary does pose a special problem all its own, precisely because of its international character.

Still, this vocabulary must be seen, for perspective's sake, against the great mass of material created within

English out of existing resources by means of compounding, back-formation, clipping, blending, affixation, zero derivation by functional shift, acronymy and eponymy, to mention only the most productive elements of our creative repertoire. In the final analysis, the great problem for the lexicographer of English, especially the commercial lexicographer (and that is what I am) is to find a way to cover all of these words, the international and the purely national, in a single volume of reasonable wieldiness, that can be offered at an affordable price. That is the problem with which we struggle endlessly.

THE ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE AND THE FRENCH LANGUAGE: FRIENDS OR FOES?

Jeffrey T. Chamberlain
George Mason University

Introduction

The French Academy has arbitrated matters of language from the first edition of the Dictionary (1694) to the publication of the Grammaire de l'Académie Française (1932). The Academy, however, despite its intended mission, has in fact throughout its history had relatively little influence on questions of linguistic prescriptivism in France. The long-awaited publication of the Grammaire caused a scandal and may be said to have led to the creation in 1937 of the Office de la langue française, the first of several organizations established to carry on the Academy's original mission. This paper outlines the founding and general history of the French Academy, examines its principal writings (consisting of the Dictionary and the Grammar), and addresses the current situation of linguistic authority in France.

Founding and General History of the French Academy

Starting about the year 1629, a small circle of nine Parisian men of letters decided to meet once a week at the home of one of their number to discuss, socially and informally, the matters of the day.⁽¹⁾ Nine gentlemen met most frequently at the centrally located house of Valentin Conrart, whose initial efforts might well qualify him as the actual founder, or at least the prime mover, of the Academy. The discussions tended to center on books and authors, and their meetings eventually came to the attention of Cardinal Richelieu, who in February 1634 suggested that the group of friends incorporate under state authority. In spite of some initial objections on the part of some members, it seemed politically expedient to humor the wishes of the Minister, and formal assemblies were held as early as March 1634. Despite some uncertainty concerning the name of the body (referred to

variously as the Eminent Academy, from Richelieu's title; the Academy of Beaux Esprits; the Academy of Eloquence), the name of Académie Française (more precisely, Françoese) was chosen by the members, ultimately designating, indeed, the prototypical national language academy. Pellisson reports that its members called themselves Académistes until February 12, 1635, when they chose to adopt the term Académicien as more distinguished; Robertson (1910:9) observes that this is "one of the very few linguistic innovations originating within the Academy." The term Académiste is still occasionally used, sometimes for satirical purposes, which may explain the fact that the term has been omitted from the Dictionary of the Academy as obsolete in every sense.

In 1635, Richelieu signed and sealed a charter of the Academy consisting of 50 articles, which with slight practical modifications still constitute the Academy's official regulations. The following articles constitute the Academy's essential charge (Robertson 1910:12-13):

24. The principal function of the Academy shall be to labour with all the care and diligence possible to give exact rules to our language and to render it capable of treating the arts and sciences.

25. The best authors of the French language shall be distributed among the Academicians for the purpose of noting the terms and phrases which may serve for general rules and of making a report of them to the Society, which shall judge of their utility and make use of them as necessary.

26. There shall be composed a Dictionary, a Grammar, a treatise on Rhetoric (une Rhétorique), and a treatise on Poesy (une Poétique), after the observations of the Academy.

The Academy, then, whose membership was fixed at 40 (although none of the regulations specifically stipulates

this), continued to meet as it had previously, at the houses of various members (and no longer at Conrart's), to discuss relatively inconsequential literary matters. In 1637, however, Richelieu, displeased with the success of Corneille's play Le Cid, resolved that, under the conditions of Article 25 of the Academy's charter, the play be subjected to a critical examination by the Academy. Sensitive to public opinion, which was overwhelmingly favorable to Corneille, the Academy attempted to sidestep the issue, protesting that it had a more important function in the compiling of a dictionary. Richelieu, of course, prevailed, and the Academy produced a mildly favorable report on the play, after making things considerably unpleasant for Corneille (who was later admitted to the Academy in 1647). The infamous "affaire du Cid" established a precedent which, for better or worse, determined the scope of the Academy's activity, from the beginning essentially literary in spite of its charge to establish and maintain the purity of the French language. Ironically, however, the "affaire du Cid" may have actually contributed to the institution. As late as 1637, the Parliament of Paris had blocked the granting of the letters patent officially chartering the Academy, for political reasons and, according to Voltaire, owing to a fear on the part of the Parliament that the Academy would acquire jurisdiction over the publication and sale of books.(2) The Parliament granted the letters patent, however, on July 10, 1637, less than a month after the discussion of Le Cid began, with the proviso "that those of the said Academy shall take cognizance only of the adornment, the embellishment, and the augmentation of the French language, and of books which shall by them be produced, and by other persons who shall desire or wish it" (Robertson 1910:37). Apparently satisfied, then, that the Academy was indeed engaging in literary discussion, the Parliament saw fit to charter the institution after some two and a half years of opposition to Richelieu's project.

After the "affaire du Cid," the Academy remained relatively idle, if not moribund, judging from letters of Champelain to other members: to Guez de Balzac (Sept. 5, 1638), "The Academy sta per tirer le calze, so

languishing and idle is it;" to Godeau (Dec. 24, 1638), "The Academy languishes and wastes time as usual." (3) Upon his election in 1640, Olivier Patru delivered a short address of thanks for his admission into such a distinguished company, and started the tradition of the "reception oration" which ultimately made of the Academy a political organization as well as a literary one. Men only were admitted to receptions of new members until 1702, when these events were open to women as well. The Academy had been surprisingly enlightened at its founding in its attitude toward the participation of women, receiving with some favor a proposition that women be admitted to membership, and later discussing the membership qualifications of Mlle de Scudéry and Mme Deshoulières. In 1671, the Academy awarded its Prize for Eloquence for the first time to Mlle de Scudéry. On the other hand, one might question the enlightenment of a Vaugelas, the Academy's first resident grammarian, who claimed that "Dans les doutes de la langue il vaut mieux pour l'ordinaire consulter les femmes et ceux qui n'ont point étudié que ceux qui sont bien sçavans en la langue Grecque et en la latine." (4) Furthermore, in spite of the Academy's consideration of Mlle de Scudéry and Mme Deshoulières, in fact no woman was admitted to membership among the "forty immortals" until 1980, on the election of Marguerite Yourcenar.

During the 18th century, the Academy flourished, after its fashion, harboring much debate over the encyclopedist movement and various political issues. In August 1793, all academies in France were declared to be useless and tainted with aristocracy, and summarily abolished by a decree of the Convention: "All academies and literary societies patented by the nation are suppressed." (5) Two years later, the Convention proclaimed a National Institute consisting of three classes: the Mathematical and Physical Sciences, the Moral and Political Sciences, and Literature and Fine Arts, which in their organization purposefully avoided any reference to the former academies. In 1803, the Institute was reorganized, and included among its four classes one of French Language and Literature, which consisted of 40 members. It was understood that no objection would be

made to the use of the term "the Four Academies" to refer to these four new classes. After the Restoration, a royal ordinance in 1816 again reorganized the Institute, restoring to each of the Classes its original name and according them priority according to the date of their foundation as royal institutions. Thus, at the head of the list is found, once again, the Académie Française followed by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, the Académie des Sciences, the Académie des Beaux-arts, and the Académie des Sciences Morales, these five constituting the Institut de France which exists to this day.

The French Academy, then, having refused to die from either internal or external causes, has endured as the "first among equals" of the five academies in France; indeed, members of the other Academies are ordinarily referred to as members of the Institute. Since the "restoration" of the Academy in 1816, its members have been primarily men of letters, although, as Gaxotte ("de l'Académie Française") observes (1965:70-75), the Academy has offered its fauteuils to cardinals, historians, scientists, philosophers, critics, journalists, politicians, diplomats, ambassadors, marshals and generals, and (lastly mentioned) "men of the theatre." D'Alembert, some 200 years earlier, had expressed the opinion that it would be a mistake to think that the Academy should be composed exclusively of poets and orators, since for the compiling of the Dictionary the Academy needed to open its doors to good writers in all disciplines, for the purpose of "perfecting of taste and of the language."⁽⁶⁾ While D'Alembert's assertion may indeed define the ideal national language academy, it is precisely the lack of participation by language specialists that has compromised the Academy's effectiveness in the fulfillment of its original mission.

The Dictionary and Grammar of the French Academy

In 1674, Louis XIV, who had accepted protectorship of the Academy and assigned to it an apartment in the Louvre, granted to the Academy an exclusive privilege for the publication of French dictionaries in the kingdom for

20 years after the publication of the Academy's dictionary, which was anticipated to appear within one or two years but was not published until 1694. The preparation having begun in 1639, the Dictionary of the Academy therefore took some 55 years to complete, perhaps not an unreasonable time period given the inexperience of its compilers and the pioneering nature of the work. The primary responsibility for the Dictionary had been assigned to Vaugelas, who had offered, in the words of Pellisson, "de belles et curieuses remarques" on the French language;(7) the work progressed under Vaugelas' direction until his death in 1659, after which progress was painfully slow. A first draft was completed by 1672, but its revision, according to d'Olivet, was "bien plus longue et bien plus pénible qu'une première façon." (8)

The 1694 Dictionary, published in two folio volumes, arranged its entries by etymological groupings (roots, derivations, and compounds), although the etymology of the entries themselves was omitted (and still is in the most recent edition). The vocabulary was limited to that of the honnête homme and excluded technical terms, despite the charge to the Academy (charter, Article 24) to render the language "capable of treating the arts and sciences." Pronunciation was also omitted, since the Academicians decided that as true pronunciation could only be learned in conversation with those who speak a language naturally and correctly, any attempt to represent the sound of words phonetically would be misleading. It would also have been necessary to cite alternative pronunciation,(9) whereas in orthography, the authors insisted on established printed forms in order to maintain the readability of books already printed. Thus was chronicled officially for the first time a disinclination, if not an outright aversion, to spelling reform which has characterized the Academy to the present day. The authors of the Dictionary considered using literary citations in its definitions, but abandoned the notion because, according to the Preface, the Dictionary "has been commenced and finished in the most flourishing period of the language; and it is for that reason that it does not cite, because several of our most celebrated orators and greatest poets have labored on it." (10)

Judging from a remark by Fénelon in his 1716 Letter to the Academy, there may have been some question as to whether or not the Dictionary should be revised. Fénelon suggests, in fact, that "Le dictionnaire auquel l'Académie travaille mérite sans doute qu'on l'achève. Il est vrai que l'usage, qui change souvent pour les langues vivantes, pourra changer ce que ce dictionnaire aura décidé."(11) This remarkably modern recognition of the Dictionary will be of value to future generations for whom the language will have evolved. Whether or not Fénelon's exhortation for a revision had any direct influence, a second edition was published in which entries were arranged in alphabetical order, the etymological groupings having proved impractical. Third and fourth editions of the Dictionary followed in 1740 and 1762; the fifth edition was prepared by 1793, but the suppression of the Academy delayed its publication until 1798. This edition, which for the first time admitted neologisms and technical terms, was later "disowned" by the Academy, which, since it had ceased to exist and consequently did not review the 1798 edition, accepted no responsibility for it. Further editions appeared in 1835 and 1877; the eighth and most recent edition was published in 1935. D. Maclaren Robertson, writing in 1910 (:232) about the anticipated eighth edition, foresaw numerous orthographical reforms, such as replacement of *ph* by *f*, *rh* by *r*, and *y* by *j* in words of Greek origin; also the substitution of *s* for *x* in the plural of the seven nouns ending in *-ou* (*genous*, *hibous*, etc.). It is interesting to note that these changes were not made in the 1935 edition of the Dictionary; this may tend to uphold the perception of the Academy as guardian of the language. Robertson, in any event, had written in a climate of considerable concern over spelling reform, the most famous (or infamous) of the proposed reforms having been the list of tolerances issued by the Education Ministry in 1901 regarding such matters as punctuation, certain subject-verb agreements, and the agreement of the past participle.(12) This list of proposed relaxations of orthographical rules for school examinations has never been accepted, leaving the question of spelling reform an issue often debated but never resolved, unless the absence

of any reform is considered a de facto resolution of the issue.

Some 80 years after a grammar had been mandated in the Academy's original charter (Article 26), Fénelon was calling for the Dictionary to be supplemented by "une grammaire française: elle soulagerait beaucoup les étrangers, que nos phrases irrégulières embarrassent souvent." Such a grammar, continues Fénelon, would also be of great use to the French, who have learned their language only "par le seul usage, et l'usage a quelques défauts en tous lieux." (13) The Academy had published in 1708 some brief remarks by the Academician Régnier-Desmarais and in 1716 a revised edition of Vaugelas' Remarques; with the exception of an occasional essay, the Academy produced nothing on the order of an official grammar until 1932, when it finally published the Grammaire de l'Académie, written anonymously by the Abbé Abel Hermant. The long-awaited Grammaire, although a best-seller, caused an immediate scandal, criticized as it was by almost all grammarians of the time. Ferdinand Brunot was perhaps the most vehement critic. In his Observations sur la Grammaire de l'Académie Française (1932), Brunot accuses the Grammar of ignoring the spoken language, lack of diachronic insight, misunderstanding of phonetics, and general incompetence based on an utter and absolute naïveté in matters linguistic. In fact, if the public had indeed been anxiously awaiting the Academy's definitive pronouncements on the complexities of the French language, the Grammaire de l'Académie fell considerably short of expectations. In simplifying excessively, concluded Brunot, the Academy was bound to fall into error: "Les lacunes sont énormes et innombrables. Presque aucune des questions essentielles n'est étudiée. Le public attendait du Concile un Traité du Dogme, on lui donne un pauvre petit catéchisme; rédigé par un sous-diacre avec une légèreté inouïe, où pullulent les plus graves hérésies" (Brunot 1932:123). Almost all works since 1932 have completely neglected the Grammaire de l'Académie, and one may be tempted to conclude with Bengtsson (1968:22) that France does not yet have an official authority in grammatical matters. Or does it?

Linguistic Authority in France

Following the fiasco of the Academy Grammar, Thérive, who had suggested in 1923 the foundation of an official committee on the French language composed of three writers, four philologists, two linguists, and two journalists, brought the idea once again to the fore. Writing in 1933, Thérive diplomatically excuses the shortcomings of the Academy's work: "Personnellement mon affection et ma révérence pour bon nombre d'académiciens ne me feront pas dire qu'ils soient qualifiés pour codifier la langue moderne, ni même pour l'observer. Une commission de lettrés et de savants où les classes de l'institut peuvent et doivent être représentées, servirait infiniment mieux. J'espère que ce Grand Conseil sera fondé un jour." (14) This idea was supported by numerous other scholars, and led to the creation in 1937 of the Office de la langue française, chaired by Ferdinand Brunot. (15) This body, whose founding members included Paul Valéry, Mario Roques, Albert Dauzat, Charles Bruneau, and Georges Gougenheim, met bi-monthly to discuss particular issues addressed to it, directing its attention specifically to current usage. Rather than rejecting neologisms out of hand, the Office conscientiously and prudently recommended new words and constructions required by the quickly changing times. The Office de la langue française was forced by the second world war to cease its activity; its importance nevertheless remains as the first organization formally to supersede and supplant the French Academy as an arbiter of acceptability in the French language. Its contributions during the short period of its existence dealt principally with the question of technical vocabulary and with the gender of borrowings, for which its attitude was one of resignation: gender is arbitrarily determined, and, in the case of borrowings, one must conform to established usage. (16)

Several other organizations have been formed in France and elsewhere to arbitrate, or even legislate, on matters of language, almost exclusively, however, in the realm of vocabulary. The Office du vocabulaire français

was constituted in 1957 to deal with ever-increasing borrowings from other languages, particularly American. The Cercle de Presse Richelieu (1953) and its successor Association "Défense de la langue française" (1959) have reported, with a marked hostility toward borrowings, on "errors" committed by the media. The Haut Comité pour la défense et l'expansion de la langue française (1965), under the auspices of the Prime Minister, seeks to promote French on an international basis. Similar organizations, some political, others educational, have been founded in Switzerland, Belgium, and Canada, with more or with less official government sanction, the most important of these being probably the Canadian Office de la langue française (1961), which publishes, among other things, a series of volumes entitled Néologie en Marche, which contains langue générale and langues de spécialité, this in an effort to replace with French terms the franglais terms that have appeared in Eastern Canada as a result of close contact between English and French speakers, especially in the fields of commerce, industry, technology, and sports.(17)

The existence of such a plethora of organizations concerned with the French language reflects perhaps the notion held by many French and non-French alike of the privileged status of the French language as representing a sort of "mission civilisatrice." This concept is put forth succinctly by David C. Gordon in his book, The French Language and National Identity (1930-1975):

To many a Frenchman his language is not a "mother tongue" rooted in nature, a medium of personal self-expression, but rather a function of civilization, a weapon against nature, and to talk correctly is a part of social behavior. The Frenchman tends to see his language as fixed, operating according to universal laws of logic, not as dynamic and ever-changing. French, to such Frenchmen, is not something created by the individual; it is something he enters into possession of. This is, of course, the classicist tradition and while this tradition has had its rebels such as Hugo and Baudelaire ... the

classical ideal still forms part of the French collective unconscious (Gordon 1978:4-5).

This classical ideal, unconscious or otherwise, may in part account for the preoccupation with the "purity" of the French language which, formulated in the classical period, remains to the present day. If the French Academy has proved not to be the vehicle for the enforcement of such purity, this has been largely through no fault of its own. The first edition of the Dictionary of the Academy, in rejecting technical terms and other forms of neologism, was, after all, merely following the classicist temperament of its day, and if the most recent (1935) edition lies dusty on the shelves, it is simply because other, better dictionaries have been produced (Larousse, Robert) by trained lexicographers rather than by Academicians--honored citizens all, but not lexicographers. A similar fate holds for the Grammar of the Academy, which was not produced by grammarians and linguists, and as a consequence has been criticized or shunned by them.

The battle to maintain the French language continues, although it is taking place outside of the Academy. In the last three years, for example, the Association générale des usagers de la langue française (AGULF), founded in 1977 on the model of consumer protection groups to unite Frenchmen "concerned with defending their common linguistic and cultural patrimony," won judgments against some 30 companies for infractions of a 1975 law: TWA paid a fine of 800 francs for two boarding passes printed in English issued at Roissy Airport; the French national cigarette manufacturing company was fined 7,500 francs for the phrase "20 filter cigarettes" in its advertising (for a cigarette whose brand name is "News"); the French airline Air Inter was required to change the internationally recognized badge "U.M." (unaccompanied minor) to "E.N.A." (enfant non accompagné).(18) It is ironic indeed that such activity, occurring as it does outside the province of the French Academy, represents precisely the Academy's original mission, in essence "to preserve, protect, and defend the language against all enemies, foreign and domestic." What, then, of the Academy itself? Is it a friend or a

foe of the French language? A friend, certainly, in the past, for its contribution to the stabilization of the language and for its maintenance of classical standards. A foe? Hardly, judging from its long-standing ineffectiveness in matters relating to the language itself. It may be reasonable, in sum, to qualify the Academy as a "friend of the court," whose literary functions, beginning with the "affaire du Cid," could be said to complement the work of lexicographers and grammarians. Robertson makes an eloquent case for the Academy as an agent of stability in an otherwise unstable world: "The Academy's example remains, producing its beneficent effect almost imperceptibly and confirming the truth of Voltaire's saying, usually interpreted as only half-complimentary, that the institution renders greater service to literature than is generally supposed, even in doing nothing" (Robertson 1910:181).

At the beginning of this century, there was some speculation in the Parisian press concerning the impending disappearance of the Academy, and several Academicians felt that they would most likely be the last occupants of their fauteuils.⁽¹⁹⁾ Several generations later, we find the Academy still firmly planted on French soil, although the literary nature of its mission appears to have evolved as if by default. In view, then, of its long history in spite of numerous historical, philosophical, and linguistic reasons for its extinction, it is quite likely, in this reporter's humble opinion, that there will always be an Académie Française.

NOTES

- 1) This account is based on that of Pellisson (1652), discussed by Robertson (1910) chapter 1. This entire section owes much to Robertson's excellent comprehensive history of the French Academy.
- 2) Voltaire, History of the Parliament of Paris, cited by Robertson (1910:26).
- 3) Cited by Robertson (1910:40).
- 4) Vaugelas, Remarques sur la langue française (ed. Streicher), p. 503, cited by Bengtsson (1968:16).

- 5) Cited by Robertson (1910:110).
- 6) D'Alembert, Preface to "Eloges," cited by Robertson (1910:153).
- 7) Pellisson, Histoire de l'Académie: Des Académiciens en particulier; Vaugelas, cited by Cahen (1970:iii).
- 8) D'Olivet, Histoire de l'Académie, I, ii, cited by Cahen (1970:iii).
- 9) Cf. Robertson (1910:210-211).
- 10) Preface to the Dictionary (1694), cited by Robertson (1910:212-213).
- 11) Fénelon, Lettre à l'Académie (1716), reproduced in Cahen (1970:3).
- 12) The complete text of the Arrêté ministériel du 26 février 1901 is reproduced in Grevisse (1975:1240-1245).
- 13) Fénelon, Lettre à l'Académie (1716), in Cahen (1970:5-6).
- 14) Thérive, Querelles de langage, II, p. ix. Cited by Bengtsson (1968:30).
- 15) Cf. Bengtsson (1968:30-31).
- 16) Cf. Bengtsson (1968:138-139).
- 17) Cf. Jenkins (1980:212); Bengtsson (1968:31-40, 138-142); Gordon (1978:61).
- 18) Cf. Derogy (1984).
- 19) Cf. Robertson (1910:197).

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POLITICAL POETICS: THE ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Beginning with the inception of the *Académie Française* in 1634-1635, its existence and its language work were closely linked to the political mission they were assigned, first by Richelieu and later by Louis XIV. The political protection, patronage, and direction it received formed the *Académie* as what it remained throughout the *ancien régime* and to some extent remains even today: the visible emblem of political control over a culture that is defined as restricted, normative, and an important property of the political and spiritual unity comprising the French nation. The Academy was a center of the powerful and effective system of royal patronage of the arts as they reached new heights under the new aesthetic of classicism, and that gave it an importance and success that have made it endure as the model and most prominent of the world's language academies.

Yet as the Academy attained new glories along with its patron-King, Louis XIV, its definitions of its purpose, regularly reiterated in speeches at ceremonies inducting new members, increasingly reflect an ineluctable contradiction in its political-poetic approach to the use of language. A conflict becomes apparent between an approach to language as poetic and rhetorical medium--as an instrument that obeys its own logic and needs, that must be shaped, that is plastic and thus in some sense *opaque*--and the political desire of both King and academician to make it an utterly flexible implement for the construction of ideological representations, the transparent transmitter of the Sun King's rays. Specifically, the Academy was charged to praise the King, and that praise was defined as functionally important, not least by its insertion into a system of exchange for economic support. Yet the contents of the praise necessarily asserted the King's independence from the need for praise, his aloofness from the ideological tools of his power, the irrelevance of linguistic representations to

his essence as absolute monarch and absolute Cartesian subject.

In this paper I will examine how this contradictory double imperative in the relation of language and power was successfully overcome by the highly skillful manipulations of the Academy's members, taking as my example a ceremonial speech by the playwright Jean Racine.

Not long after the well-known quarrel over Pierre Corneille's Le Cid was settled,(1) Richelieu and the King died, and the Academy sank into a troubled period of relative obscurity and poverty, like, indeed, the rest of the country during the Fronde and the minority of Louis XIV.

But as the new Louis assumed the reigns of power and a new generation of literati emerged in the 1660's, the Academy once again was seen, particularly in the eyes of chief minister Colbert, as a major instrument of royal power in a field important enough that cultivation by the state might reap a significant ideological harvest. Thus Colbert increased subventions to the Academicians, gave them new meeting quarters in the royal palace, and established a system of silver tokens or jetons as remuneration for attendance. He also is reported to have urged greater productivity on the dictionary project, thirty years old and hardly begun, at least until he spent a couple of hours on a surprise visit listening to discussions of the usage of one simple word--ami (does it necessarily imply mutuality of feeling?)--and became convinced the project was not as easy as he had imagined.(2) Colbert's efforts, and the Academy's prestige, reached an apogee in 1672 when the King assumed official sponsorship as the Academy's new Protector.

As a result of this progression of events, the functional link between the Academy's work and royal power became entirely explicit. It is formulated with particular clarity by the two preeminent orators of the time, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the best predicator and leading cleric of the generation of Louis XIV, and Jean Racine, the most successful playwright and literary

courtier. Racine defines the purpose of the Academy this way, in the peroration of a speech from 1678:

"And even this work we have in common, this dictionary that in itself seems such a thorny and dry task, we labor at with pleasure. All the words of the language, all the syllables seem precious to us, because we look on them as so many instruments that should serve to the glory of our august protector."(3)

The hyperbole of this passage has been condemned as particularly venal, but in fact, the Preface to the Academy's Dictionary--which at long last appeared quite some time later, in 1694--makes exactly the same claim, in considerably more florid terms.(4)

As for Bossuet, he addresses the need for the Academy's language work as follows:

"How can one confide immortal actions to languages always uncertain and always changing? . . . Who cannot see that it is necessary, for the glory of the nation, to shape the French language, so that one might see our discourses take a freer and livelier turn in a sentence that is more natural to us, and freed from the subjection of being always feeble copies, we might at last aspire to the glory and beauty of originals."(5)

In these remarks we can hear clearly the echo of the founding statutes, but we can also not fail to see the reflection of the Sun King and the increased insistence on ideological and religious conformity that will culminate in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.(6)

In particular, language is here viewed instrumentally (indeed that is the word Racine uses), as a tool to be put to the service of the glory of the ruling monarch. This argument justifies both the work and the funding of the Academy. Any problems about the nature of its linguistic project are resolved by a grounding in political function. But this also opens a new area of problems, for how exactly is language to be used to the glory of the King, the Academy's Protector? The Academy will find itself caught up in a problematics of flattery, since this monarch is a monarch who wishes to be seen as absolute, or, quite specifically, as transcending any glorifying representation in words. Words must be the instrument to represent deeds beyond words. As a result, the individual

academician who sets out to fulfill the task of glorifying Louis--a task required to be fulfilled in increasingly public ceremonial meetings(7) as well as in writings--faces a conflict about language and the Academy.

This conflict, along with the surprising way the problem is itself turned into a solution, can be perceived with particular clarity in the speech given by Racine in the Academy in 1685. A high point of Academy activities was the reception of a new member, an elaborate ceremony at which the inductee and the then-current director of the Academy each displayed their rhetorical skills in a speech of praise. On this occasion, just over 300 years ago, it was a double reception, and since the drawing of lots had brought forth Racine's name as the Director for a three-month term, he was called upon to reply to the speeches given by the two nominees. One inductee was a simple footsoldier in the army of court intellectuals, named Bergeret, replacing another footsoldier, named Cordemoy, a rather dull historian and lawyer. But the other inductee was of unusual interest: Thomas Corneille was replacing his deceased and more famous brother Pierre, the first of France's great tragic playwrights, whose preeminent position in the theater, established at the time of the quarrel of Le Cid, had been usurped, and then abandoned, by none other than Racine himself.

In the light of the Academy's functional definition of language the question to be asked about this speech is the practical or pragmatic one: What rhetorical means does the speech use to achieve its purpose? How does it configure the relationship between speaker, listener, and referent so as to persuade, flatter, or seduce; and what implications does that configuration have for the Academy's mission?

In brief, Racine follows the conventional plan which had become virtually mandatory for these speeches: praise first the deceased member, then the replacing member, then the Academy and its founder Richelieu, and then last, but far from least, praise the current Protector and King, now one and the same. Racine's first sentence outlines a drama of loss and return.

"It is not necessary to say how much the Academy was touched by the two substantial losses she felt almost at the same time, and of which she could not be consoled did she not, by the choice she made of you, see them today happily repaired." (Racine)

It is important to note the specific form of the sentence, for it is the institution, the Academy, that is cast in the role of subject here: grammatical subject, and subject in the sense of the agent who governs this economy and who experiences its effects. This is a tactic Racine uses throughout the speech, and always to the same effect: he implicates his audience in the activity he describes, and silences his own role as speaker in formulating the description by naming the institution. It is always the Academy, it is always *nous* "we", that makes judgments about Corneille, and later, about the King. Further, the statements to which Racine obtains the listeners' concurrence are carefully orchestrated through the speech. He starts out with remarks in the name of the Academy that are flattering to its members as well as plainly true, even explicitly self-laudatory.⁽⁸⁾ He establishes clearly, from the start, that the glory he will heap on Corneille and others also reflects on his audience, that it is to be taken as adding to their own glory and appreciation of themselves, indeed, not just for the academicians, but, a bit later, for all the residents of the realm of France who may read the published text. In order to drink more draughts of this sweet flattery, the listeners are soon to assent to statements which are considerably less self-evident or well-founded than those with which Racine begins. They will greet praise for the King with an enthusiasm like that they felt for the praise meant for themselves. Thus by making the institution--the Academy-- both the legitimating authority and the object of his praise, Racine contrives to capture his audience.

But later sections of the speech make clear that the power of flattery is a dangerous one. Racine gives a famous description of Corneille's impact on the theater, arguing that the power of literature to produce this kind of immortal and immortalizing work shows that the art of the great poet is essential to rendering the reign

memorable, even more so than the labors of the great warriors. It is at this point that he touches on the central problem in speeches of praise for an absolute King:

"France will remember with pleasure that under the reign of the greatest of her Kings, flourished the most famous of her poets. One will even believe one is adding something to the glory of our august monarch when one says that he esteemed, that he honored with his generousities this excellent genius; that even two days before his death, and when there remained to him only a glimmer of consciousness, he sent to him marks of his liberality, and that the last words of Corneille were thanks for Louis the Great." (Racine)

This is a boast apparently flattering to both Academy and King, but politically dangerous. It is dangerous in the sense that it seems to imply that the activity of Corneille, of Racine, of the Academy and of all the host of Louis' paid scribblers is in fact necessary to the immortalization of the King's glory. To say that is not to praise the King, but to make his glory, (which was intended to be portrayed as absolute), contingent on the description of its attributes, on the instrumental use of language. Thomas Corneille in his speech clearly recognized this problem, prefacing his praise of Louis with an explanation of its superfluity, remarking that his deeds speak for themselves, since, "Eloquence is needed only to raise mediocre actions." (9)

This problem shows clearly the dilemma the Academy faces, indeed faced from the moment of its founding. Its function is to praise the King, yet at the same time this function must be described as in reality totally unnecessary. The successful speech of praise must in fact make more glorious the object it praises, yet at the same time it must denigrate its own power, it must attribute the increased glory not to its own rhetorical power, not to language, but to the object itself. Colbert's son, in a speech he gave in 1678, again with Racine presiding, vacillates on this point in a quite revealing way:

"He (Louis) protects a company (the Academy) that will contribute to giving his great actions the immortality they have so justly deserved."

"But I am mistaken, gentlemen, it is the exploits of Louis the Great, it is that combination of military and political virtues that will give immortality to your works.

Only draw, if you can, faithful images of the actions of this great monarch: he has provided you miracles and prodigies that will give birth in your mind to extra-ordinary thoughts and expressions." (10)

At first, the glory of the actions is contingent on the descriptions; then, in a sharp and revealing reversal, it is the descriptions which are made entirely dependent on the actions, and indeed ordained simply to be faithfully accurate.

The Academy's mission, then, is to write history. The connection between the King and the praise of him leads almost inevitably to a particular importance being given to the question of narrating the King's acts, or history. But the question of history turns out to lead into the same difficulties.

Racine's historical discussion of Louis, concluding the speech, proclaims boldly the Sun King's nature as total and self-sufficient, his existence as an absolute subject transcending historical contingency. The King's will acts directly, without assistance or intermediary; he does all and knows all. Racine adduces a number of examples to show the supremacy of the King's will over the stuff of historical reality. (11) In his era, as Racine depicts it, historical time is essentially meaningless, since history is simply the interval between the formation of the King's resolutions and the moment of their revelation or accomplishment. History has no power to affect the relation between events and their sole cause, Louis *le grand*, because to his admirers he transcends history, he is marvelous, a miracle in the strict sense of these words so often applied to him. His acts are:

"... a continuous chain of marvelous deeds, that he himself begins, that he himself completes, as clear, as intelligible when they are executed, as they are impenetrable before their execution." (Racine)

If such is history, what becomes of historical narration--as the purpose to which the Academy is then to apply the perfected French language? Like history itself, historical narration or historiography is entirely

determined by the actions of the King. All that is necessary is to observe, in order to write direct and dramatic history, without the bother of interpreting, explaining, or facing the fear of boring the reader. "All that is necessary is to follow him, if one can, and to study him well, him alone," we are told. Neither the Academy's historical work nor the linguistic tool it has sharpened to do that work makes Louis' deeds intelligible --the function one might normally assign to history-writing and certainly assigned to language by its instrumental definition. Their intelligibility flows directly from him. Just as we saw Colbert the younger argue that it is Louis who gives literature immortality, rather than the reverse, Racine here elaborates a schema in which Louis is the sole, absolute, transcendental, cause of his deeds and of their written monuments, of any language in which they might be represented, notably including his own speech but not excluding the Academy's French altogether.

In other words, in order to portray the King as a kind of absolute, limitless subject, the speech systematically and necessarily denies its own rhetorical effectiveness. The Academy whose mission is to form the rhetorical and linguistic instrument of praise elaborates, in order to carry out the function of praising, a theory valorizing transparency and denying the opacity of the instrument, language, a theory whose adoption in altered form by the Enlightenment and the Romantics will eventually lead to the death of rhetoric as a study in France.(12)

But this tactic is adopted precisely because it is effective. In the first step, speaking metadiscursively about his own and his colleagues' speeches, Racine reiterates the definition of an institution and a collective project in which they all participate, a ceremonial project, a history-writing project: that is, the Academy. Only through participation in this project does the listener partake of the flattering praise being presented, and participate in a relation to the source of all that is praiseworthy, the King. The listeners are made into virtual speakers, academicians. The speaker obtains the listeners' concurrence to his speech by establishing the

institution as a locus that is both source and destination, subject and object, of praise.

The second step is to solve the problem I called the dangerous side of flattery, how to praise the referent in a worthy and effective way without diminishing it, particularly acute in the case of a ruler who specifically wishes to be conceived of as transcendently superior to the effects of his representation in words, the case of an absolute King, Louis. The King is to be glorified, yet the King cannot be glorified. The speaker resolves this dilemma by speaking about nothing else but speaking, since he can thereby enunciate his praise and at the same time deny its effectiveness, its necessity, and its adequacy.

But this metadiscursive strategy, with the use of language it implies, has a kind of magically successful paralytic effect on the listeners.(13) By trapping its audience in a purely verbal and rhetorical mesh, in the tangles of the twin definition of its language and mission, Racine's speech achieves its goal. For Racine, that means vindication and glory; for the King, to continue to lend the maximum of political and economic support to his Academy; for the members of the Academy, it means no escape from the glorious thralldom of the production and reception of ceremonial speeches without end.(14)

NOTES

1) See the article in this volume by Jeffrey T. Chamberlain, "The Académie Française and the French Language: Friends or Foes?"

2) D. MacLaren Robertson, A History of the French Academy, 1635-1910 (New York: Dillingham, 1910), p. 66. For the tokens, etc., see also W. H. Lewis, The Splendid Century (New York: Sloane, 1954), p. 274.

3) Jean Racine, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Raymond Picard (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1960), II, 341-350. All quotations from Racine are from these pages. Translations of all French authors are my own.

4) Académie Française, Le dictionnaire de l'Académie Française (Paris: Coignard, 1694). Preface reproduced at

Robertson, p. 237-8.

5) Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, "Discours de Réception à l'Académie Française," in Oeuvres oratoires, ed. J. Lebarq, rév. C. Urbain and E. Levesque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1914-26), V, 5-12.

6) David Parker, The Making of French Absolutism (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), in discussing the Academy from a historian's point of view, notes pp. 1312-2 that: Insistence on ideological conformity under Louis was not limited to religion: it extended over the entire spectrum of artistic and intellectual activity, involving a degree of government control unsurpassed before the twentieth century.

7) The statutes, which convey in part the efforts of a corporate body trying to fence out undue royal influence, reflecting a resistance to the crown's institutionalization of its dominance that was quite real in the 1630's, specify no one but Academy members may ever attend meetings. However, under Louis XIV they were attended by increasing numbers of courtiers. The first open meeting was that when Racine was received into the Academy, early in 1673.

8) Racine even seems to inject a certain amount of irony into the self-laudatory attitude of the Academy when he says of Corneille: "And who among us did not applaud himself within himself, and did not feel a secret pleasure to have as colleague a man of such merit?"

9) Recueil des harangues prononcées par MM. de l'Académie Française (Paris: J. B. Coignard, 1698), pp. 459-466.

10) Recueil, 328-333.

11) The centrality of the project of writing the history of Louis' deeds, which I mention here only in passing, is brought out particularly when Racine, now officially historiographer to the King, compares Bergeret to Cordemoy: the former's direct knowledge of Louis is "something much more useful and much more worthy of consideration" for the Academy than the latter's written historical narrative. My views of Racine's representation of history are informed particularly by Louis Marin, Le Récit est un piège (Paris: Minuit, 1978), 69-115; as well as by Orest Ranum, Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical

Thought in Seventeenth-Century France (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; and by Marin, Le Portrait du roi (Paris: Minuit, 1981).

12) Tzvetan Todorov, Théories du symbole (Paris: Seuil, 1977) presents an excellent discussion of the decline of rhetoric. The last major French work on rhetoric,

Fontanier's Les Figures du discours (Paris: Flammarion, 1968) appeared in two volumes in 1821 and 1827. See also Chaim Perelman, The New Rhetoric and the Humanities (Boston: D. Reidel, 1979), esp. 1-5.

13) Cf. Socrates' comments on the effects of ceremonial speech: Plato, Menexenus, 235 a-c.

14) A more complete and detailed analysis of the pragmatics of Racine's rhetoric in this speech may be found in my "Subject and Ceremony: Racine's Royalist Rhetoric," Modern Language Notes, 100(Sept. 1985), pp. 789-800.

**GENERAL PROBLEMATICS OF A
QUEBEC FRENCH DICTIONARY:
DICTIONNAIRE DU FRANÇAIS QUÉBÉCOIS**

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When Thomas Maguire published his Manuel des difficultés les plus communes de la langue française, in 1841, he was most probably not aware that he was thus initiating a movement that would favour a social recognition of the differences between Quebec French and European French. In his treatise devoted to vocabulary, Maguire was actually siding with traditional French purists and went as far as to assert that the only people competent in the question of the French language were living along the Seine, in France. Since that time - I would rather say since the beginning of the 19th century, if I take into account a word-list that was compiled in 1810 by Jacques Viger, a mayor of Montreal, but brought out only 100 years later - the question of the particularities of Quebec French has become a social issue and has given rise to many emotional reactions, as has always been the case for the political question of the status of the French language in Canada.

The interest in Quebec French vocabulary burst into a flourishing production of word-lists and glossaries, some of them being called ictionaries, between 1880 and 1930; let us mention the works of Dunn 1880, Clapin 1894, Dionne 1909 and of the Société du parler français au Canada, whose Glossaire du parler français au Canada, published in 1930, is the masterpiece of this collection and is still today the best general reference work. The Révolution tranquille, between 1960 and 1980, which refers to a period of major social, intellectual and political changes in Quebec, has led to a wider recognition by Quebecers themselves of the special character of their French inside the international French-speaking community; this recognition has resulted in a renewed interest in the description of vocabulary. The works that have been produced recently range from extremely purist glossaries (for instance, Gérard Dagenais, Dictionnaire des difficultés de la langue française au Canada, revised and

enlarged in 1984) to the Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise, published by Léandre Bergeron in 1980, which consists in a poor quality attempt to promote Quebec French as a different language. So far no detailed or scientific dictionary of Quebec French particularities, and, of course, no general dictionary, has ever been published: Quebecers are still waiting for "a language dictionary" worthy of the name.

This is why, fifteen years ago, a group of professors at Laval University (Quebec city) decided to undertake a thorough examination of Quebecois vocabulary in order to make possible the development of lexicography in Quebec as a real scientific discipline. A research team, called "Trésor de la langue française au Québec," was set up in the early 1970's and has since then worked basically on collecting materials and laying down the principles governing the methods and procedures of a first historical dictionary of Quebec French: Dictionnaire du français québécois.

It will not be possible, in this paper, to deal with the different aspects of a large dictionary project such as the DFQ. What I want to stress today is the fact that this dictionary is intended to be a basis for any further lexicographic work and to foster a collective reflexion on a "normal" Quebec French usage. This is why, after a general presentation of the dictionary, I will focus on two main characteristics of the DFQ, that is its differential and historical approach. I will try to explain how the information on words we are planning to provide Quebecers with, in our dictionary, will help them to make decisions on the above issues.

General Presentation of the DFQ

The aim of the editors of the DFQ is to make a complete description of the vocabulary specific to French speakers of Quebec from the time of settlement in the 17th century until today. The project has a staff of twelve full-time researchers (including three professors of the Department of Linguistics) and ten to fifteen part-time assistants. A grant obtained in 1977 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada has

currently provided the money to foster the research and publish its results. A first installment of the dictionary, that is in fact a sample volume, was published in February 1985 in order to elicit comments about our work. We have already received many useful suggestions from colleagues and readers in Quebec and - I am particularly glad to mention it here - from American colleagues who have proved to be interested in our undertaking. I can tell you now that the typography of the dictionary will be improved in many respects, following the advice given to us.

Because of the comprehensive lexicographical treatment the words are subjected to, the DFQ has to be classified among the scholarly dictionaries. Its corpus includes archival documents, literary works, newspapers, texts of radio and television programs, and oral sources, especially from tape recordings. The main questions we are going to deal with in this dictionary are: in Quebec French, what is different from standard French? Where do the differences come from? How are Quebecisms used in everyday language? What are the relations between particular words of Quebec French and their standard French equivalents in actual usage (synonymy, registers, comparative frequency of items, etc.)?

Differential Approach

Quebec French is the language of some 5,000,000 people in the Province of Quebec; it is a language that is closer to French standards than is that of the 1,000,000 French Canadians outside Quebec (especially in the Maritime Provinces). Quebec French is made up of standard French words, which represent the largest part of the vocabulary, and of Quebecois particularities; these particularities, that I will refer to as Quebecisms in my paper, are more numerous than in the other countries where French is the mother-tongue. Quebecisms occur in everyday situations and are closely connected with standard words.

In order to qualify for entry in the DFQ, a lexical item has to be checked against the information given in dictionaries of standard French and found to be different

in a certain way: because of the form, because of the meaning, because of the phrase (when more than a single element is involved), or because of any other difference revealed by the comparison. A formal Quebecism is a word whose form does not exist in standard French: magasiner "to go shopping" (do not call me mischievous if I remind you that, in France, people say faire du shopping...); placoter "to chat", instead of bavarder, faire un brin de causette; achaler "to bother", instead of importuner, déranger. A semantic Quebecism is a word whose form does exist in standard French, but has a different meaning: malin means "quick-tempered", instead of "smart, shrewd" in standard French; the word gosses in standard French means "kids", but do not use it in Quebec before knowing exactly what it means there! A phraseological Quebecism is a word group that may occur in the speech of French people but is not usual (like fin de semaine, that we use in Quebec instead of week-end, both phrases being borrowed from English, the first one through translation) or a word group that makes no sense for most of them, like parler à travers son chapeau "to talk through one's hat" (in standard French, people say parler sans connaissance de cause).

Besides those words, many others have about the same meaning in Quebec and in France, but are used in a different way or with a different frequency. For French people, the word autobus refers to a vehicle operating within a city as part of a scheduled service line; Quebecers use this same word for busses operating between cities as well as within a city. In the French language (generally speaking), briser and casser are verbs that have closely similar meanings and may often be considered as synonyms, but some of the usages of these verbs in Quebec do not match the standard French ones. For instance, briser can be said in Quebec of a watch or of a bike that does not work anymore; in that case, a Frenchman from France would say casser.

In spite of this peculiar mix of standard words and Quebecisms, Quebecers can be understood without any real problem in French speaking parts of Europe. Of course, differences between continental and Quebecois usages may give rise to occasional and temporary misunderstandings

and sometimes to funny situations (that is always an exciting and unforgettable experience when it occurs in Paris). The reverse can also be true. I cannot help recalling the experience a colleague of mine had with the verb se déshabiller in a Montreal restaurant. You know that the first meaning of se déshabiller in French is "to take all one's clothes off"; but it may also be said of taking off one's coat or outdoor clothes. Although this second meaning is sometimes used in France, people there prefer to say: débarrassez-vous! meaning "get rid of that!", or mettez-vous à l'aise! "make yourself comfortable!". A French professor was sitting in a Montreal restaurant with his raincoat on and the waitress offered to help to take it off, saying: Déshabillez-vous! The French professor hesitated and answered: Tout de même! "You must be kidding!" It was of course for a joke, but Quebecers do not even think of making a joke about the use of that word.

These few examples can perhaps illustrate the original type of features of Quebec French vocabulary (to say nothing about its pronunciation). One has indeed to realize that this geographic variety of French presents us with a different organization of semantic links between words, because of the influence Quebecisms have on standard words they compete with or complete within every portion of the vocabulary. A word like achaler meaning "to bother", that is very frequent, becomes semantically richer through usage and generates colloquial expressions in everyday language; the standard French equivalents importuner, ennuyer, emmerder, etc. cannot stand aloof from the influence of this word and are led to acquire connotations they do not have in standard French. That is why the "Trésor de la langue française au Québec" research team is convinced that Quebecois vocabulary has to be the subject of a distinct lexicographical description. One must of course consider that today the recognition of Quebec French is taking a big step forward with some of its words being currently accounted for by French lexicographers. But Quebecers need more than that, socially and scientifically speaking, and have to undertake the investigation of their variety of French in dictionaries of their own.

Historical Approach

The editors of the DFQ have decided to lay stress on the origins of the vocabulary, because this question is of the greatest significance for the French-speaking people of Quebec. Because of a very strong movement for the purification of language that arose in the wake of the military defeat of 1760, a movement that developed into a real linguistic prohibition at the end of the 19th century, Quebecers have got the impression that their language has been turned upside down by the influence of English. They have the feeling that most of the differences between their French and standard French are due to English. This bias is still firmly rooted, even among a number of specialists. This is why we think that a first dictionary of Quebec French has to highlight the historical sources of this language.

One can imagine the interest people involved in linguistic issues, from a scientific or a social point of view, take in the question of Anglicisms. Let us make it clear right from the start that Quebecism does not necessarily mean Anglicism. Anglicisms are an important, though not a prevailing, part of the specific Quebec French vocabulary which consists chiefly of French archaisms, Western French dialectalisms, and local innovations.

For a better understanding of that question, I think it useful to give a short outline of the history of Anglicisms in Quebec French. This history has not been written yet and I will have to rely chiefly on the research we did while gathering data for the dictionary. It may be surprising to learn that the best early papers on that matter were written by American scholars, such as Dr. Marshall Elliott, professor of Romance languages at Johns Hopkins University and founder of the Modern Language Association (1883), and Dr. James Geddes, an erudite professor at Boston University from 1887 to 1937. This is further evidence of the fact that the phenomenon of Anglicisms in Quebec French has often been approached from an emotional instead of a scientific viewpoint by Quebecers themselves.

Since 1760, Quebec French has been exposed to various types of English influence; this influence was almost overwhelming during the 19th century when some merchants in Quebec City went so far as to translate their French names to improve their financial situation. The first borrowing from English seems to be the word ale (1764) dressed up as a French word (aile). In the last decades of the 18th century, everyday vocabulary unquestionably showed the effects of daily contact with the conqueror's language. One can find evidence for this in the notarial deeds and in the newspapers of the time: breeches "a sort of trousers" (since 1771), saucepan (1779), mahogany (1783), corduroy (1786, which was transformed into corde du roi "king's rope", corps du roi "king's body", etc.), thépot (from tea-pot, 1787), barley (1799; when speaking about the foodstuff bought in a store; the French equivalent, orge, has always prevailed when referring to the cereal that farmers grow, many people probably being unaware that both words refer to the same thing).

In the first part of the 19th century, many French words gave in to English competitors. Until that time, service à thé and service de vaisselle had been the phrases used to name a tea-set and a set of dishes. But from then on, people chose to say set à thé (since 1828), set de vaisselle (since 1848). In measurements the use of the preposition sur was put aside; instead of deux sur quatre "two by four", which was usual until the end of the 18th century, people began to say deux par quatre, after the English pattern: par has been current since then. In the course of the 20th century, however, a large number of lost words have come back to life following the action of purists and improvements in the educational system.

Younger Quebecers find it funny to learn from older ones that, in their youth, people used to wave to each other saying adidou or adidouce (from the English how do you do) as a greeting phrase; or that people drank beer in glasses called tombleurs (from English tumbler); or that a path in the woods was referred to as a toe-path (pronounced [topat]). Research that has been carried out on present day usage tends to show that Anglicisms do

not exceed one percent within a given corpus, with the exceptions of some specialized vocabularies (e.g. automobile, economy, and politics). In my opinion, this percentage might be raised significantly when we have a better knowledge of semantic and phraseological Anglicisms, which are likely to go unnoticed because of their French look.

For now, let us conclude this outline by saying that the personality and the behavior of Quebecers, not only the language, have been altered through a two-century relationship with their English-speaking neighbors. Even if the linguistic issue has always been handled according to European standards, the francophones along the St. Lawrence River are no longer French, and they are not English. According to a French Jesuit in 1851, French Canadians had already changed their manners and, especially, acquired a cooler etiquette: they used to shake hands like the English people and say "bonjour" when they met for the first time or when they had not seen each other for a long time, but they did not have a very warm nature and did not go along with hugging and kissing between men. One knows how it is in France: every day, you have to shake hands and say "bonjour", and, if you have been away for a few days, you are due for hugging and kissing. It is somewhat surprising for us Quebecers, in the first days of a trip to France, to have our arms almost pulled out of their sockets every day by our enthusiastic French colleagues.

As far as behavior is concerned, Quebecers have probably forgotten something of the French manner. But, linguistically speaking, one thing has to be pointed out: even if they have been led to accept many English borrowings, Quebecers have not deviated very far from the French standards handed down since the time of the first settlers. In fact, the main problem, if there is one, is perhaps that they have not deviated enough. They still make use of pronunciations, words, and phrases that were part of current usage in Western France during the 17th and 18th centuries. Quebecers are very conservative in their language, and this conservatism is, by far, the most characteristic feature of Quebec French.

In the light of this sketch of the English influence on Quebec French, one is enabled to understand why most Quebecers still consider that the original features of their French have to be connected first with the military defeat of 1760. In fact, Quebecers do not know much yet about the history of their language, but political history is better known and the conclusion one can draw from it is likely to lead to a more striking evidence: Quebecers have undergone an overwhelming political, financial and linguistic English domination since the 18th century. It will be one of the most difficult tasks of Quebecois lexicographers to throw light on the actual linguistic influence.

Because of the countless similarities that French and English have acquired through centuries of influence on each other, it is often tricky and time consuming to try to distinguish Anglicisms from French archaisms or dialectalisms. Even formal Quebecisms, whose English origin should be easier to determine, may be questioned when forms from French dialects are the same as in English and have a similar or a connected meaning. For example, the editor of the entry bâdrer in the DFQ showed that this verb is to be related to North and Western France usages, in spite of the fact that it had been taken for granted that it was an adapted form of the English word bother (see DFQ 1985: 17).

Dealing with semantic Anglicisms is particularly difficult. Here are a few illustrations of the problem. Couvert, couvercle, and couverture have different meanings in standard French, and one cannot use the first one to speak of the cover of a book or of the cover of a cooking-pot. In Quebec, people do, and purists say that they are thus committing an Anglicism. This is not true: the master file of the DFQ shows that these senses of the word couvert have been in continual use in Quebec since the 17th century.

The verb marier "to marry" is just another example of the same type. In standard French, marier may be said of a father who gives his daughter in marriage or of the priest who performs the marriage. As far as standard usage is concerned, one cannot say: j'ai marié une jolie femme; but, again, people say it in Quebec, exactly as in

France in the 16th century and as in some European French communities today. In standard French, the verb in that case would be épouser: j'ai épousé une jolie femme. This particular usage of the verb marier has been strongly denounced because it was wrongly considered to be borrowed from English. On the contrary, a word like blonde, which means "girl-friend" and which -- everybody is sure of it -- has been brought from France (just remember the folksong Auprès de ma blonde) met with a much better fate in purist circles. Why? It was an old word which educated people ought not to use currently, but it was not a "bad" word.

These examples show that the opinion people have about the origin of words may have a tremendous influence on the determination of language standards, especially in a community where a consensus is still to be defined. This is one of the reasons that, in a first dictionary of Quebec French, we want to focus on Quebecisms, of whatever origin they may be, or whatever judgment may have been passed on them: these are the words about which Quebecers urgently need information.

Throughout this paper, I have stressed the fact that the DFQ is above all intended for answering questions Quebecers have been asking for a long time about their language. Another aspect of our undertaking, that I mentioned earlier, is connected with the development of lexicography in Quebec. Our team organized a first meeting on that subject in April 1985; the aim was to make specialists working on Quebec vocabulary meet for the first time and share their experience and knowledge. A second meeting is going to be held in May of 1986, on a much debated issue: the project of a general dictionary of Quebec French, which cannot be launched without a form of consensus on a standard québécois usage. Just before coming to this conference, a colleague sent me back the poster announcing the meeting: he had fiercely crossed out the word québécois that he wanted me to replace by the word canadien. I would not be surprised to receive more posters in the following days with québécois being replaced by français de Paris. This is another evidence that our differential and historical dictionary project must be carried out first.

THE ACADEMIA COLOMBIANA DE LA LENGUA AND THE INSTITUTO CARO Y CUERVO: HISTORY, ORGANIZATION, AND MISSION

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Colombia, South America holds the distinction among Spanish-speaking countries in the world of having two extremely active "academy" organizations with respect to its national language. The Academia Colombiana de la Lengua, the first American Spanish language academy under the auspices of the Real Academia Española, was founded on May 10, 1871, six months after the Royal Academy had authorized the establishment of affiliated academies in American countries. Among the founding members are names of renown in Hispanic linguistics, philology, and literature: Miguel Antonio Caro, President of Colombia from 1892-1898 and a well-known translator of Virgil as well as the author of numerous philological studies; Rufino José Cuervo, author of Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje and the instigator (along with fellow Academy founder Venancio G. Manrique) of the Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana; José Manuel Marroquín, whose text Ortografía y métrica is a classic reference work; José María Vergara y Vergara, author of Historia de la literatura en la Nueva Granada, as well as the poets Rafael Pombo and José Joaquín Ortiz, and President Santiago Pérez, plus other public figures, grammarians, and writers. The purpose of the Academy, as expressed in the founding decree from the Royal Academy, was to tighten the links that should unite people who shared the same blood and the same language, and to keep watch over the purity and appropriateness of that language, admittedly a very nineteenth century perspective on prescriptive language use.

In order to "Colombianize" their organization, the founding group of the Academia Colombiana limited their original membership number to twelve, in memory of the first twelve houses that were constructed by the Spanish conquistadores who founded Bogotá, their capital.(1) They also fixed the date of their annual meeting to coincide

with the anniversary of the founding of their city, August 6. As mentioned, these first academicians included not only linguists, but politicians, scientists, and educators, those who had distinguished themselves "en el buen manejo del idioma." (2) The early meetings of the Academy took place in the homes of the individual members, but from 1881-1914 the public sessions were held in the Salón de Grados in the House of Representatives. From the date of its founding until the beginning of the new century, several annual sessions of the Academy were canceled due to periodic civil war in Colombia. Despite this political turmoil, the members of the Academy continued their work, "el estudio de palabras y locuciones, bien para proponer su aceptación en el Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, cosa que siempre ha tenido favorable acogida, bien para registrarlos como regionalismos en el diccionario local, proyectado desde 1882." (3)

In 1914 the Academy took possession of its own building, two years after it had resumed publication of the Anuario as a record of the work of its members. During the 1920's the Academy lost its building to another government agency, and in the 1930's finally came to be reorganized in the National Library. Special anniversaries were celebrated in the above-mentioned Salón de Grados or in the Teatro de Colón. Naturally, the membership of the Colombian Academy changed during this time, due to death and an occasional resignation. All told, some thirteen academicians served as President of Colombia, including those mentioned as founding fathers. But, despite the political upheavals, the ravages of time, and the inter-agency problems, the Academy continued its work of preservation of the Spanish language mainly in its written form.

The Academy began its self-styled "modern period" some thirty years ago with the election of Father Félix Restrepo, S. J., to the Directorship. Padre Félix, among other activities, organized and chaired the Tercer Congreso de Academias de la Lengua Española, held in Bogotá in 1960. (4) During Padre Félix's decade of leadership, the Academia received permission to renovate its original building (now that it once again had clear

title and use of the land and structure) and the Congress mentioned above took place in the new building. The Academy continued holding public sessions marking important literary anniversaries to fulfill its aim of "divulgación cultural y literaria." (5) In the year in which the Academy celebrated its centennial, 1971, it took possession of the personal library of one of the former directors, Antonio Gómez Restrepo, a bequest of more than 20,000 volumes. The actual celebration of the centennial included ceremonial visits by representatives of all other Hispanic American Academies of the Language as well as the Spanish Royal Academy.

One of the annual events sponsored by the Colombian Academy is the Día del Idioma, a national contest for schoolchildren held since 1938. Since 1973, students in the highest achievement level have been invited to the Academy for an orientation session on the work of the Academy. Among other projects carried out by the Academy was a year-long series of courses for teachers on various aspects of linguistics, teaching methodology, and literary analysis. As far as regularly scheduled activities, the Office of Information, (formerly Public Relations) transmits two weekly radio broadcasts, one on language questions, the other on literature, as part of the Academy's cultural mission. Another important committee includes a sub-group of members of the Academy as well as members of several other technical societies under the name Comisión de Vocabulario Técnico. This committee has studied geological and geophysical terms, worked on the Glosario Técnico de Drogomanía, as well as medical, economic, and industrial vocabulary, including the Hispanization of many foreign words which have since been included in the "Dictionary of the Royal Academy." In 1970 the Committee on Lexicography was constituted. Their current work involves augmenting the Diccionario de Colombianismos. (6)

At various times in its history, the purpose of the Academy, as well as its various functions, have been defined and confirmed through national legislation. In 1928 and again in 1960, its character as a consulting agency for the government in matters of national language and literature was affirmed. Funding for its activities has

also been made part of the national budget. The Board of Directors has been defined as follows: Director, Assistant Director, Secretary, Librarian, Treasurer, Censor, and Auxiliary Secretary. Although the Academy began with only twelve members, the "numbered" chairs now total twenty-nine, one for each of the letters of the Spanish alphabet (the American English twenty-six, minus "w", plus the "ch," "ll," "ñ," and "rr".) Membership classes were originally based on residency in Bogotá, but now all members must first be corresponding members before being selected for permanent membership of one of the chairs, whether they actually come to take up residency in Bogotá or not. It was not until 1980 that women were considered eligible for membership, following the lead of the Spanish Royal Academy.(7) Regular meetings are held every two weeks on Monday. The usual order of business consists of: minutes of the last meeting, answering requests for consultation on language questions, committee reports, and reports by individual members on their own research.

Aside from the glossaries and dictionaries mentioned, the Academy also has a regular publication. The Anuario appeared in 1874 and 1911, then on a more regular basis until 1957. This regular publication was re-named the Boletín in 1963, and has come out bi-monthly since 1966. Current issues contain information on linguistic concepts approved by the Academy, changes in the "Dictionary of the Royal Academy," speeches and literary works by the academicians, bibliographic notes, etc.(8) Among the monographs published recently by the Academy are: Apuntaciones idiomáticas y correcciones de lenguaje, by Roberto Restrepo (1955); a volume of papers from the "Tercer Congreso de Academias de la Lengua Española" (1961); the Ortografía of the Spanish Royal Academy with the approval of the Colombian Academy (1971); as well as the Breve Diccionario de Colombianismos.(9)

The point of all the meetings, publications, and research of the Academy is one it shares with all other language academies: to keep watch over the development of the Spanish language. As the current Director, Eduardo Guzmán Esponda, has said:

"Nuestras delegaciones ... han llevado siempre un criterio comprensivo del desarrollo que por ley natural experimenta más extensas áreas idiomáticas del planeta. Y más en un mundo como el actual en trance de transformación en todos los órdenes.... Se tiene, sobre todo, como punto de mira principal, la defensa de la unidad del idioma castellano, en todo el mundo hispanoparlante. Sin perjuicio de los naturales regionalismos y provincialismos de cada país, materia de especial estudio y compilación."(10)

This is evidence of the prescriptive tendency inherent in the nature of a national language academy but proof as well that this language academy at least, does view the language "in its care" as an evolving entity, subject to change.

As I mentioned at the outset, Colombia has been blessed with two active organizations which at first glance may function as language academies. A little more than seventy years after the founding of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua, the Instituto Caro y Cuervo came into existence in Colombia. At the time of its creation there were other philological institutes in Latin America, usually associated with a large national university, for example, in Mexico City; Lima, Peru; Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Montevideo, Uruguay. Each of these institutes published a journal of the research activities of their members.(11) Not to be outdone, Colombia decided to honor the centennial of the births of her famous sons, Miguel Antonio Caro (1843) and Rufino José Cuervo (1844) with the establishment of a mechanism for the continuation of their work in philology.

In 1940, the Ateneo Nacional de Altos Estudios had been created, in part, to finish Cuervo's afore-mentioned Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana, of which only two volumes had appeared by that time. Since this dictionary included examples of the uses of each word taken from classic works of literature written in Spanish, completion of it would require a specially-trained staff. Through the efforts of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua, a law was passed in 1942 honoring Caro and Cuervo by authorizing republication of a selection of their works as well as the

establishing of a money prize to be administered by the Academy through a contest for the best work published on philology or literature. This law also authorized the Instituto Caro y Cuervo under the management of the Ateneo. The exact purpose of the Institute was "continuar el Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana y preparar la reedición crítica de las Disquisiciones Filológicas de Cuervo, y cultivar y difundir los estudios filológicos." (12) Up to this point, the mission of the Academy and the Institute seem to be synonymous. In 1944, however, the following statement was added by law to the mission of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo: "b) Estudiar las lenguas y dialectos de las civilizaciones aborígenes de Colombia." (13) With this new emphasis on studying pre-Spanish languages as well as Spanish itself, the Institute could truly define itself as unique in Colombian arts and letters and find an identity separate from the body which had instigated its creation, the Academy.

Further specifications in the 1944 law included office and classroom space for the Institute in the National Library and the naming of personnel: an Honorary Director, plus a Director who would teach; a Technical Researcher; an Investigator of Colombian linguistics, as well as three assistants, one of whom would act as Secretary. The Teaching-Director would give classes as necessary to train the workers in the principal undertaking of the Institute, completion of the "Dictionary." The Colombian Linguistics Specialist would prepare modern grammars of the indigenous tongues, as well as prepare editions of the Colonial linguistic texts available (lexicons, catechisms, grammars, etc. that had been prepared by early Spanish missionaries). (14) Later in 1944 the functions of this position were expanded to include publication of the works of modern authors on those native languages, and additional collaborators were authorized to help with the research, writing, and editing.

The first law of 1944 had also provided for the publication of a Boletín to appear every four months, as a record of the work carried out by Institute personnel. The first Honorary Director of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo was Father Félix Restrepo, S. J., who was later

Director of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua. José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, who became Secretary of the Academy in 1947, has also been, for many years, the Director of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo. Seven years after its founding, the journal changed its name to Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, because, in the word of Rivas Sacconi, "el Boletín habrá de seguir cumpliendo su función de archivo--cada vez más ordenado, más crítico, más vivo--, de repertorio colombiano para los estudios filológicos, esto es de Thesaurus."(15)

On the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, the Director could say of the work of the Institute that it was fulfilling its original mission and more in the modern world:

"Nos proponemos continuar la tarea con renovado afán de servicio, ... la continuidad de la brillante tradición lingüística y filológica iniciada por Caro y Cuervo; la vinculación entre sí de los investigadores de la gran comunidad hispanohablante y, lo último pero lo más importante, el servir de voceros --a lo menos en Colombia-- del avance de la lingüística, ciencia hoy en plena ebullición teórica y metodológica."(16)

Ten years after that, a major newspaper in Bogotá would carry the comment that, if it were not for the Instituto Caro y Cuervo "y su magnífica revista, dedicados los dos a estudios filológicos y de crítica literaria, en Colombia no existe una publicación científica de prestigio internacional, ni una gran revista universitaria con auditorio extranjero."(17)

Aside from the regular publication of Thesaurus, the Institute has also been responsible for the publication of numerous other works of Hispanic linguistics in the past forty years. Sixty-five monographs have come out in the series of major works; thirteen titles in the Minor Series; nine in the Colombian Philologists Series; thirteen in the Bibliography Series; twenty in the Colombian Library; eight Colombian Classics; seventeen titles in the Colombian Epistolary Archive; one Bibliographic Annual, thirty-three titles under La Granada Entrebierta, a third volume of Cuervo's Dictionary, six volumes of ALEC (Atlas Lingüístico Etnográfico de Colombia), and twenty-four other major publications including the well-known Indice

geobiográfico de cuarenta mil pobladores españoles de América en el siglo XVI, Tomo I: 1493-1519, by Peter Boyd-Bowman. Numerous foreign scholars have also collaborated with the Institute, including several well-known North American linguists and literary scholars, both male and female, particularly in the classes provided to Institute staff as background for work on Cuervo's Dictionary as well as in other on-going research efforts of the Institute.

In summary, then, we see the justification for these two active language/research-oriented organizations. As the official government consultant on language and literature, the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua has a duty to preserve the best of written and spoken expression in Colombian Spanish. The Instituto Caro y Cuervo, on the other hand, with its eye on non-Spanish languages, is allowed to examine all that changes in Colombian Spanish as well. With its work on regional lexicons, trade vocabularies, and other ethnographic studies, the Institute becomes the guardian of the spoken language in its less-structured, colloquial state. Through the workings of both these institutions, then, we have a comprehensive picture of language activity in Colombia, not just an idealization of language use. It is marvelous to realize that over 100 years of linguistic research was inspired principally by the work of just two men: Miguel Antonio Caro and Rufino José Cuervo. Although their own work appeared in an age of philology rather than linguistic science, their love of language as object of study in and for itself is evident in their spiritual descendants at work today in the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua and the Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

NOTES

- 1) Eduardo Guzmán Esponda, Reseña de la Academia Colombiana de la Lengua (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1982), p. 7.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Ibid., p. 17.
- 4) P. 30.

- 5) P. 33.
- 6) P. 48.
- 7) P. 45.
- 8) P. 59.
- 9) P. 60.
- 10) P. 71.
- 11) Félix Restrepo, S.J., "Para la historia," Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo (1945), I, p. 1.
- 12) Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 13) P. 5.
- 14) P. 6.
- 15) J. M. Rivas Sacconi, "Los veinticinco tomos de Thesaurus," Thesaurus, XXV (1970), p. 548.
- 16) Ibid., p. 550.
- 17) Eduardo Caballero Calderón, "Juicios: El Instituto Caro y Cuervo y su magnífica revista," Thesaurus, XXXVI (1981), p. 374.

THE SPANISH ROYAL ACADEMY

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Spanish Royal Academy

The Spanish Royal Academy was founded in the year 1714 by Philip V, a monarch of the then recently-enthroned Bourbon dynasty. It is a corporation that assembles within its body representatives of the different activities that make up the cultural life of the country at a given moment. Among the forty-six members who presently belong to it are to be found philologists, grammarians, novelists, philosophers, dramatists, engineers, medical doctors, a cardinal of the Catholic Church, an Army general.... In almost three centuries of existence, the Academy as an institution has hardly changed, while reality about it, the historical world in which it is enclosed, has gone through the most spectacular changes. This has inevitably created serious problems, the effects of which can be felt in the functioning of the Academy itself as well as in its recognized position vis-à-vis society as a whole.

To begin with, it should be born in mind that at the time of its founding, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the wealth of all knowledge constituted a unity, within the Renaissance humanistic tradition. In those days, any cultured person could pass an informed judgment on all of the fields of knowledge extant at the time; and this being the case, he was able to tell who was who among the different cultivators of the arts and sciences; he had a clear idea of the importance, worth and merits of each and every one. Thus, the system of cooptation for the acceptance of new academicians functioned reasonably well. Since then the different sectors of cultural life have grown increasingly diversified through a process of specialization, which is indispensable, of course, but by virtue of which an individual's working in more than one narrowly-specialized field has even caused him to suffer a loss of intellectual prestige. Naturally, this situation prevents people from keeping up with what is going on in cultural sectors different from their own, or from thoroughly understanding the content of disciplines removed from their personal occupations.

It is easy to see that under such conditions the system of cooptation must at best function with difficulty. At a given moment the Academy may feel that for its work it needs to avail itself of the knowledge of an economist, or of a naturalist, or of a linguist, thus deciding to incorporate into its body a person qualified as such; but the truth is that, except for an occasional felicitous coincidence, the different members of the corporation who are called upon to elect the new academician are only capable of making appraisals within their own respective fields of competence. It would be illusory, in effect, to expect an atomic physicist or an electronic engineer to pass an educated judgment upon contemporary literary values, or a poet to be sufficiently versed in possible options in the terrains of jurisprudence or of the military. It is more than probable that very well-known names in, say, art history mean nothing to an eminent biologist. This is doubtless the result of what Ortega y Gasset in his Rebellion of the Masses called "the barbarism of specialization," but it is, in any case, the reality with which we are confronted. Perhaps this difficulty can be overcome in practice by blindly following in each instance the judgment of better-informed colleagues; but, notwithstanding, no matter how close and gratifying the ties of personal esteem among its members, the cultural community that originally gave unity to the corporation is now missing.

On the other hand, the position of the Academy with respect to society as a whole has changed greatly with the latter's evolution in the centuries that have passed since the founding of the former. It is not necessary to stress, for it is only too evident, the radical difference separating what was once a hierarchically-organized aristocratic society from the present egalitarian and democratic society, where, insofar as idiomatic usages are concerned, there no longer exists a recognized and revered authority. In former periods of time the norm for correct speaking and writing was upheld in practice by the upper classes (the court in the old absolute monarchy and, within its regime, the Academy; or, in the bourgeois democracy, the model of admired writers and orators). Willingly followed and imitated, they established the

standards for linguistic correctness. But in a democracy of the masses, it is, instead, the media of public communication that, in their constant contact with the population, establish through their example (frequently a bad example) the forms of idiomatic usage.

In this context, it is easy to see why today the mission of the Academy finds itself obstructed and considerably diminished. Nevertheless, it is just this lamentable aspect of the situation that demands that, instead of considering the institution antiquated, outdated and ineffectual, we attempt to assess its present possibilities, which, after all, are not few, and seek all means possible to readjust it, without the loss of its traditional identity, to the social realities of our time with a view to boosting its effectiveness.

Such an assessment of present possibilities should begin by considering the asset upon which, because of its history, it can actually rely. In the first place it seems only too evident that, despite everything, the Academy maintains a strong remnant of its former authority vis-à-vis the general public. And the public to whom I refer--it must be stressed--is not confined to inhabitants of peninsular Spain, but also includes those of many other countries of the same language. It is not necessary to remind you that when the Spanish Royal Academy was founded, our monarchy had expanded its power throughout vast regions of the American continent, regions that, later, in the course of the nineteenth century and as a result of several processes of independence, organized into politically autonomous states, whose indigenous populations, Hispanicized by the colonization, adopted the language of Castile. Among those millions of Spanish speakers, whose numbers surpass by far those of the Iberian Peninsula, the linguistic norms codified by the Spanish Royal Academy are commonly recognized and are consulted and observed no less than in Spain itself.

These Hispano-American countries have established, for their part, their own corresponding Academies where their most distinguished writers and scholars gather, and which maintain relations of fairly intense collaboration and consultation with the Spanish Academy. Besides the Colombian, Equatorian, Mexican, Salvadoran, Venezuelan,

Chilean, Peruvian, Guatemalan, Costa Rican, Panamanian, Dominican, Bolivian, Nicaraguan and Honduran Academies, and the associated Argentine Academy of Letters and National Uruguayan Academy of Letters, there is also a Philippine Academy (for the Spanish domination and the use of the Castilian language are not limited to the American continent), and two others, the Puerto Rican and the North American Academies, to which, for obvious reasons, I should like to make special reference here.

As everyone is aware, Spain lost the Philippines, at the same time as Cuba and Puerto Rico, in 1898, as a consequence of the war with the United States. And even though Puerto Rico was then annexed as a territory, enjoying today Commonwealth status, it decided in 1955 to create its corresponding academy, which is making positive contributions to the Spanish Academy. Later, in 1973, Spaniards and Hispanists of the United States decided to found in New York a North American Academy that was incorporated into the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language in 1980.

Thus, the Royal Academy, that originally covered with the mantle of its authority the entire extension of the dominions of the Monarchy, is today the center and head of a voluntary network of analogous entities pledged to join forces and to commit their prestige towards the common task of watching over linguistic correctness in the entire area of the Spanish language.

How can this be done? How, within the changed social situation of our times, can it continue to fulfill efficiently the functions that from the start belonged to it and that it has carried out with honor to the present? Evidently it can be done by adjusting the entirety of its activities to the reality of this new society, so altered and so different from that in which it carried them out in preceding periods of history.

In order to do this it will be necessary to take into account the fact that the Academy's authority is, and always has been, just that: a mere authority, lacking the coercive means of public power that, furthermore, have hardly any effect on linguistic usage. In a democratic society, oriented and directed by means of massive communication (the press, but above all the audiovisual

media), and whose norms of language are established by the example of those who speak to the public through the said media, the Academy will have to seek a connection with them so as to accomplish, through them and with all imaginable resources, whatever possible corrections it can manage of their linguistic expressions.

This is what should be done in response to the necessity of maintaining some real contact with the speaking community, without which its influence would become all too tenuous and almost null since this community is today, basically, not so much a community of readers as it is of spectators and listeners. But there is still another --and no less important-- field in which the Academy will have to bring itself up to date --in fact, it is already attempting to do so: it has to do with the fulfillment of specific endeavors that it must carry out from within, such as, and especially, the preparation and revision of the dictionaries. I am referring to methods of work and to equipment. If this work is to be carried out in an adequate way and with desirable results, it is essential that we take advantage of electronic resources placed at our disposal by modern technology, resources that increase human productivity to a fabulous degree. Without the use of such resources we would not be able to face the challenge posed to us by the substantial and rapid changes to which language is subjected in the present times; we are well aware of this. Also, undertakings of gigantic extension like our Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Language, whose magnitude imposes an excessively slow rhythm, will be greatly accelerated by the use of computers and other electronic instruments of inestimable assistance. This is what lies ahead of us.

Finally, I would not like to end these words without making one reservation that I most energetically stress: that the information, commentaries and opinions expressed herein are all personal, formulated by me as a member of the Spanish Royal Academy, but in no way an expression of any possible official positions that the corporation might choose to hold.

THE ACADEMIES OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

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The institutions we are discussing owe their name to Plato's Athenian Academy, but that is their only relationship to Greek antiquity save, arguably, to the grammarians of the Alexandrian school, who in many ways could be considered Renaissance philologists avant la lettre. Academies as we know them today are a product of the Renaissance, of the reaction to Medieval "corruption" of Latin.

Some of the Renaissance academies dealt mostly with subjects other than language --literature, the arts, science. Others dealt principally with language; the oldest of the latter that is still active is the Florentine Accademia della Crusca, founded in 1582. It is this second group that concerns us because, even though they came into being as a result of the situation of Latin, they dealt with the vernacular rather than with the Classical languages.

Concerns about the vernacular predate the establishment of the first academies --concerns by the like of Dante, who antedates even the Renaissance, by Juan de Valdés, Pietro Bembo, and very particularly by Elio Antonio de Nebrija. Without taking away from any of the other major philologists of the early Renaissance --Lorenzo Valla, Erasmus of Rotterdam, et cetera-- it is a fact that only Nebrija came near to fulfilling the program that those philologists had set for themselves. Since he was the most complete and thorough of the Humanist philologists,(1) it is not surprising that he was the first to write a grammar of a modern language from a Renaissance perspective, and to call explicitly for the establishment of a national authority over language, addressing Queen Isabella of Castile in his Gramática Castellana of 1492.

Academies and individuals working with the vernacular languages had some goals in common --raising those vernaculars to achieve the perceived superior refinement and grace of classical Latin, as well as

preserving them from "corruption" to avoid a repetition of the process Latin had gone through during the Middle Ages. They, however, differed from each other because of different national situations. The Italians, for instance, had since Dante been preoccupied with the need to choose between several vernacular variations. On the other hand the Spaniards of the Renaissance saw themselves as being in the same situation as the Romans at the initial stages of the Empire. Their need was for a language that could cope with territorial expansion and imperial policies.

Nebrija's Gramática came out of press just a fortnight before Columbus sailed on the journey of discovery which would result in an enormous empire for Spain. As if foreseeing the events of the next few decades Nebrija states in the "Introduction" that one of his reasons for writing the book was that language has always been the companion of empires, and that his work will be needed to teach Spanish to the barbarous inhabitants of the many nations Queen Isabella will conquer.

The first Spanish Renaissance academy was founded in Madrid and Seville at about the same time as the Florentine Academy (1540) by none other than Hernán Cortés, who two decades earlier had conquered the Aztec empire in Mexico; it was however dedicated to literature and the arts rather than to language. The first American academy for which we have an exact date was also established during the Sixteenth Century (1590) in Lima, Peru; it dealt with literature rather than with language as such and, curiously, it was called the Antarctic Academy. The Real Academia Española, modeled on the Académie Française, was not established until 1713; it was and is involved with literature, but its principal responsibility is the regulation, care and development of the Spanish language.

The Spanish Royal Academy has been extremely active and has made valuable contributions to the language. Its six-volume Diccionario de autoridades, published between 1726 and 1739, was technically very modern for its time. Work on dictionaries has continued, the latest edition is of 1984; although very adequate, the later dictionaries are not of the same innovative high

quality as the first edition. The Academy has also produced and revised grammars and published critical editions. However, the most important contributions to Spanish by the Academy have been, on the one hand its constant revisions of orthography which have resulted in a close parallel between spelling and pronunciation, and, on the other hand, its preoccupation with maintaining an orthographic standard that can be applied to the language in all of the countries where Spanish is spoken. Work on this latter matter has kept Spanish from having the spelling variations that are present between British and American English (centre/center, catalogue/catalog, honour/honor, et cetera). The Spanish Royal Academy has been conservative towards language, has often been unduly preoccupied with purism, but much less so than other national academies.

During the colonial period the Academy had Spanish-Americans among its members;(2) there was, however, no Spanish American language academy until the latter part of the Nineteenth Century; the first one was the Colombian Academy, established in Bogotá in 1871. By 1887 there were national academies in Ecuador, Mexico, El Salvador, Venezuela, Chile, Panama and Guatemala. There was no further activity of this nature until 1922 when the Costa Rican Academy was founded, but by 1949 there were academies in all the Spanish American republics and the Philippines. The Puerto Rican Academy was founded in San Juan in 1952 (officially constituted in 1955), the North American Academy in New York in 1973 (officially inaugurated in 1974). As we have seen, the first academies came into existence during the Renaissance as a reaction to the collapse of the Latin language and Roman culture of classical antiquity. A very similar reaction partially explains the development of the first Spanish American academies just a few decades after independence.

The breaking up of the Spanish Empire, which began during the 1820's, reminded Spanish speakers on both sides of the Atlantic of what had happened to Latin after the fall of the Roman Empire of the West. They feared that the fate of Latin, which gave way to what we now call the Romance languages, would be repeated in America

for Spanish. There was at the time very serious and widespread concern about a fragmentation of the language which would parallel the political break-up into many sovereign states where there previously had been only one. This fear was reinforced by the early linguistic nationalism that developed within some of the new republics, particularly but not exclusively in Argentina. The Cuban linguist Juan Ignacio de Armas y Céspedes went so far as to predict in 1882 that the break-up was unavoidable and imminent, and tried to establish the area that would be occupied by each one of the four or five new Hispanic languages which he foresaw.

In 1825 in Bogotá, Colombia, a proposal was made for the establishment of an Academy of the Spanish American Language dedicated to the preservation of Spanish in America; its members would have been literary figures representing all of the new republics. In 1847 the Venezuelan Andrés Bello wrote in Chile his excellent Gramática de la lengua castellana which he dedicated to his "brothers and sisters, the inhabitants of Hispanic America," and in which he stated that the fundamental reason that moved him to write the book was his fear of seeing repeated in America the fate of "Europe during the gloomy period of the corruption of Latin." This is the same fear that, as previously indicated, explains why so many language academies were established towards the middle of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Spanish Royal Academy assisted in the establishment of the American national academies, and considered each one an "associate" academy; their members became associate members of the Spanish Academy. Today the Spanish-American academies, the Philippine Academy and the North-American Academy, and their members have the same relationship with the Spanish Academy. The only exceptions are the Argentine and the Uruguayan academies which collaborate with the Royal Academy, but are not "associates" of it.

In 1951 the Mexican government sponsored a meeting of representatives of all the Spanish language academies then existing. This meeting became a regular event held in different countries of the Hispanic world every four years. As a result of these meetings an Association of

Academies of the Spanish Language was created. This Association and its Permanent Commission have been officially recognized by Spain and by several Spanish-American countries.

The Mexican government obviously had ideological as well as linguistic motives in calling the first meeting of the academies. It wanted to strengthen the ties between all Spanish-speaking countries and peoples through the common bond of language. Developing this same goal the Permanent Commission, established originally in Mexico City but moved later to Madrid, planned the creation of 'leagues for the defense of the Spanish language' in cities in the United States with large Hispanic populations, much before the founding of the North-American Academy. Because of lack of funds these plans were never implemented.

I began this paper by discussing events that took place five hundred years before the founding of the two academies that are suggested in the title, not because of a love of history, which on the other hand, I do feel. I went back that far because the history and fate of the Roman Empire and its language has been a constant preoccupation of those who in Spain and Spanish America have dealt with the common language of all those territories, working within academies or outside of them. We shall see that, albeit not in the same terms, that preoccupation was also present at the founding of the Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española and of the Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española.

Since Puerto Rico was to the end of the nineteenth century territorially a part of Spain, it could not during that period have its own separate academy. This for political reasons, because culture, language and literary production would have justified the establishment of such an institution. One specific event will illustrate the validity of this last statement. When the Spanish Royal Academy decided to join the activities being organized to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, it commissioned Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, an academícan and the best Spanish literary critic of that time, to edit an anthology of Spanish American poetry. The Academy sought the assistance of the American

associate academies, and similar institutions where there was no academy, requesting that each send to Menéndez y Pelayo its own selection of national poetry, although indicating that the Spanish academicians would have the last word as to what would be included. Even though Puerto Rico was territorially under its jurisdiction, the Spanish Academy did not attempt to make its own selection, but rather requested from the governor of the island that a special commission of major Puerto Rican literary figures be set up to do the job. This, of course, showed that the Academy recognized that, at least as to literary language, Puerto Rico had its own distinct and separate identity.(3)

In 1952, a year after the first meeting of academies in Mexico, a group of Puerto Rican literary figures and linguists met in San Juan and designated nine academicians. This meeting was presided by Alberto Marfa Carreño of the Mexican Academy, who had been specially invited for the occasion. The Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española was not, however, officially constituted until the 28th of January of 1955, in time for participation in the second meeting of academies which was held in Madrid on the following year.

The Puerto Rican Academy publishes since 1978 a bulletin that comes out twice a year. That Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española accepts articles on literary as well as linguistic subjects, and the speeches given by incoming academicians (generally the subject is either literary or linguistic) as well as the responses from established members; it has also included articles on specialized technical vocabulary of mostly English origin. For the last several years, under the directorship of Humberto López Morales, articles on linguistics, including many on Caribbean dialectology and sociolinguistics, have been of extremely high quality and very much up-to-date as to contemporary linguistic and sociolinguistic theories. The Academy also produces a weekly television program where, among other matters, questions of linguistic appropriateness and correctness are discussed.

The Puerto Rican Academy has to deal with a very difficult situation, the question of language on the island.

Although Spanish is the official language, and the language of instruction in the public schools, the presence of English can be felt everywhere. In fact, in those areas where the federal government has jurisdiction (customs, immigration, the military, higher courts of appeal, et cetera) English is the official language, although Spanish often is used in those areas also. This has forced Puerto Ricans, particularly in law and business, to develop completely new areas of vocabulary in Spanish so as to be able to deal in their own language with subjects that are typically North American.

The Academy has also had to deal with persistent interference from English, even among highly educated people. This situation is aggravated by repeated travel to the island by those who have moved to the continental United States and who consequently carry an even higher load of Anglicisms in their Spanish. The Puerto Rican Department of Education has even had to develop bilingual programs for second and later generation emigrés of school age, who return permanently to the island, to facilitate their reincorporation into a Spanish-speaking society.

In spite of the very large degree of contact with English, and of the official use of English for certain activities as indicated above, Puerto Rican Spanish has remained, against heavy odds, a full member of the wider community of the Spanish-speaking world. There are no indications of the development of any kind of creole, or of extremely variant forms. Maintenance of norms for a standard Spanish of the island which is acceptable to Puerto Ricans, yet does not come in conflict with other standards, has probably been one of the major tasks of the Academy, and one that has been performed in an outstanding fashion. The other also major responsibility has been to collaborate with the Spanish Royal Academy in work on its dictionary and grammar. This involves submitting new lexical items generally accepted on the island, revising older dictionary entries, and contributing to new versions of the grammar of the Spanish Academy. These activities are shared with the other associated or collaborating academies.

One might question the need for the establishment of a Spanish language academy in the continental United States; the following data are offered in justification for such a move. There are over twenty million speakers of Spanish in the continental United States, which means that somewhat over eight and a half percent of the population is Spanish-speaking. Of the Spanish-speaking countries, only Mexico, Spain, Argentina and Colombia have a larger population. The first Europeans in these United States' territories were Spaniards. The oldest city in the continental United States, St. Augustine, Florida, was founded by them, as were so many other cities of the South, the Southwest and the West.

There are over fifty thousand teachers of Spanish in the United States, at all levels of instruction, from elementary school to doctoral granting university programs. Spanish language programs are offered in English language television and radio stations and there are many wholly Spanish television and radio stations, particularly, but not exclusively, in the Northeast, the Southeast, the Southwest and California. In those same areas, newspapers and magazines are published in Spanish. Several publishing houses do all of their work in Spanish. Hispanic minority literature in the United States includes works in all genres and much of it is of the highest quality; in volume, literary production by Hispanics in this country exceeds that of several of the smaller Spanish American countries. Federal and state legislation and court decisions require Spanish in bilingual education programs, and as the language of electoral ballots, driver examinations, et cetera, in many metropolitan areas. I could go on, giving examples of the important contributions of United States Hispanics in the professions, the arts, sports and the business world, but I feel that the case has already been made.

Many of the above historic, demographic, linguistic and cultural facts are given in the preamble to the bylaws of the North-American Academy of the Spanish Language as reasons for its founding. The Academy was incorporated on November 5, 1973, and inaugurated in a ceremony held on the premises of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York City on the 31st of May

of 1974. The inauguration was presided by the Academy's first Director, the Chilean, Carlos McHale, professor of Spanish at Fordham University, who has since died. Dr. Odón Betanzos Palacios, a Spanish poet and critic, was elected Director of the Academy in 1978; he still holds that post. At the Seventh Congress of the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language, held in Santiago, Chile, in November of 1976, the North-American Academy was granted the right to receive all communications put out by the Permanent Commission of the Association of Academies, and to send delegates to the next meeting of the Association in Lima. Finally, at the Eighth Congress of the Association of Academies, held in Lima, Peru, in 1980, the North-American Academy was recognized and given full membership in the Association.

The Academy publishes a bulletin, Boletín de la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española, the contents of which are very similar to those given earlier for the bulletin of the Puerto Rican Academy. Professor Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, from Peru, a professor at Queens College, has been the bulletin's director since the first issue (1976). Materials published have consistently been of outstanding quality.

Since the Spanish-speaking population is scattered throughout the fifty states, the territorial jurisdiction of the North-American Academy is larger than that of any other of the academies. The aforementioned population, as said earlier, is larger than that of all but four of the Spanish-speaking countries. As is the case for only one other academy, the Philippine Academy, the national language of the territories of its jurisdiction is not Spanish. All of these factors, plus scarcity of funds, make the work of the Academy very difficult. Even what could be expected to be a relatively simple task, the gathering of localisms to be sent to the dictionary commission of the Spanish Academy, actually would require an enormous amount of work and resources in order to be well done.

Dialectology and sociolinguistics do not allow us to postulate a singular 'standard' for a language such as Spanish; only a language that covered an extremely small territory could conceivably have one standard for all its

speakers. The standards for dialects of Peninsular Spanish all require the use of vosotros as the plural second person familiar pronoun, with the corresponding case and positional variations, adjectival forms, and verbal morphology, and the use of leísmo (le rather than lo for masculine human direct objects). None of the Spanish American standards accepts any of the above. All of the lowland Spanish American standards accept some degree of aspiration of syllable final /s/, but this is not acceptable in the highlands. Argentina accepts mojón to indicate a distance marker in roads, but for its western neighbor, Chile, the word is a dysphemism, unacceptable in all but the lowest levels of formality of discourse; the Chilean situation holds for several other Spanish-American countries.

The three major groups of Spanish-speakers in the United States come respectively from Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba, and there are smaller but still considerable groups from the Dominican Republic, the Central American countries and Panama, and from other areas. This means that the North-American Academy has to deal with at least three major standards and several smaller ones. To be effective, the Academy must recognize this variety, which must be accepted by speakers of all the different standards as well.

It would be completely unrealistic to expect the North-American Academy to perform in a manner comparable to that of any of the other academies. One can expect and hope, however, that its effectiveness will continue to grow. In any case, just by existing and being accepted on equal standing by the other academies, it gives all varieties of United States Spanish a degree of prestige they did not previously enjoy in the eyes of speakers from other Spanish-speaking countries. The founders of the Academy and all present academicians, particularly those that have worked so hard and effectively to achieve full membership in the Association of Academies, deserve the gratitude of all Spanish-speakers in the United States and, for that matter, in the whole of the Spanish-speaking world.

NOTES

- 1) Of all the Humanist philologists Nebrija was the only one that worked with all three classical languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew) as well as with a vernacular language, to write complete grammars for a classical and a vernacular language, to write a bilingual grammar (Latin/Spanish) of a classical language, to write modern bilingual dictionaries of a classical and a vernacular language (Latin/Spanish and vice versa). As a complete Humanist his interests were not limited to philology; he wrote treatises on cosmography and archeology as well as on poetry, and he designed the heraldic symbols for both Ferdinand and Isabella.
- 2) After independence and up to the present, of course, many Spanish-Americans who have moved to Spain have been inducted as full members of the Spanish Royal Academy.
- 3) Menéndez y Pelayo's anthology, a masterpiece of its kind, was published in Madrid in four volumes (1893-95). In addition to the poems, it includes the editor's lengthy introductions to each country's section, critical commentaries and notes. The critical approach is, of course, dated, but the editor's poetic sensitivity makes it still very attractive reading.

POLITICS AND LANGUAGE: THE CRISES OF THE ACADEMY IN GÜNTER GRASS'S TREFFEN IN TELGTE

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It is perhaps quixotic to write histories of projects that failed or were never realized. However, if we are to avoid distorting and skewing the picture, it is important to consider not only the well-known successes of the academy tradition, such as the Académie Française or the Royal Academy in Spain, but also the apparent large gaps, notably in the English, American and German cases. For England, Hermann M. Flasdieck's Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart is still an important and useful survey, with some interesting hypotheses about why the English language academy never developed.(1) In the United States of America, various plans and proposals for a national language academy foundered, in part because they were perceived as antithetical to individual freedom.(2) For the German case --and we cannot say "Germany" because that name is already part of the problem-- there is no coherent account yet of why a national language academy could not be established.(3) In the absence of both the institution of a national language academy and its history, it is useful to explore some reasons why there is no national German academy, through the medium of a fictional text.

Günter Grass's novel Das Treffen in Telgte: Eine Erzählung was published in 1979.(4) As a work by the "celebrated author of The Tin Drum and The Flounder," as the jacket blurb proclaimed, the short novel was quickly translated into English and published in 1981 in both hardback and paperback English editions. Despite a conviction that a work by a "celebrated author" might, indeed must, be important, this novel had to meet with a measure of incomprehension in the English-speaking world. One problem was an ignorance about the persons and events Grass alluded to in what was, judging by appearances, a historical novel. As a partial remedy, the British Germanist Leonard Forster was asked to write "an

afterword and notes on the *dramatis personae*... identifying the historical, literary, and commercial streams that had their confluence at Telgte." (5) Although useful, Forster's notes could not fully compensate for the fact that the basic issues involved were alien to both English and American reading audiences. The complex historical allegory, linking two of the most critical periods of German political and intellectual history, presumes an engagement with questions which might be too local and hence not worth considering. In particular, the failure of the project to establish a national language academy, something which is no longer perceived as an acute problem in England or in the United States of America, is the focus of Grass's analysis. That a major German writer, one who is actively involved in both politics and literature, should be concerned with the absent academy bespeaks the enduring importance of the problem for Germans.

In the guise of a fictional work, Grass has collected and synthesized a tremendous amount of literary-historical information about the German poets of the seventeenth century and their associations. Grass was able to rely on the research of literary historians, but his work is a unique synthesis. (6) What is elsewhere available only in a fragmented form acquires a narrative coherence in the novel. Grass is also attuned to the larger political context. The fictional forum allows a hypothesis to be tested, one which German history never fully developed. The thought experiment takes on the following form: What if the leading German poets and men of letters had been able to come together for a supra-national literary congress during the Thirty Years' War? What would have happened and why? Grass is careful to use the best verifiable historical evidence in constructing this fiction, so that the work is as much an essay in analysis as a novel.

Thus, it is known that in the German territories of the fragmenting Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth century there was a significant interest among men of learning in the project of an academy. Usually, it is assumed that the Germans had gone no further than proposals such as Leibniz's plans for an academy which

would compile a national language dictionary and undertake various language reforms. Because the seventeenth century was for a long time the most neglected period of German literary history, it is only recently that we have begun to realize that there were in fact numerous German language academies. It had always been known that there had been a profusion of "Sprachgesellschaften," of so-called "language societies." These were often scorned by literary historians, not least because of their fanciful names and curious undertakings: the Fruit-bearing Society (Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft), the German-Minded Association (Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft), the Pegnesian Shepherds (Pegnitzschäfer), and so forth.(7) Gatherings where members, who had assumed fanciful names, read poetry or engaged in elaborate word games, did not seem to fit into any concept of literary history as conceived under the double impress of Romanticism and Liberalism. However, in the last two decades our view of the picture has changed considerably. Klaus Conermann has established quite definitely what should have been long suspected, namely that the Sprachgesellschaften were linked directly, through personal contacts, to the Italian academies and their republican tradition. Once the importance of these associations, for what Ulrich Im Hof has called the "societal century", i.e., the project-happy eighteenth century of Enlightenment, is established, they will be central to an understanding of German history. It is becoming clear that the Germans were also involved in the "Great Instauration"; it also seems clear that the extent of failure on their part had serious implications for the weakened position of German intellectuals as opposed to politics.(8)

An important question then is why the Germans failed to establish a single national language academy. Neither Leibniz nor Klopstock nor Herder were able to do more than develop programs for such an academy. One answer, and it should not be undervalued, is that the external factors were simply too negative. It may be that the success of political government was the price paid instead of the academy. However, the point developed by Grass is more penetrating, namely that the academy's

crisis was also a crisis of the German language as such. It may--and this will bear discussion--be a crisis of all languages when attempts are made to plan and implement language reform through an organized body or group.(9)

The German version of the crisis is enunciated parenthetically in the novel, almost innocuously. The leading German poets have been called together by Simon Dach at a little town between the cities of Osnabrück and Münster. Because it is 1647, and the negotiations towards the Peace of Westphalia are underway, there are no rooms to be had in either city. Instead, the meeting is convened at Telgte. No less than its location, the name of the town becomes an index of the issues involved:

Laughter went round and round. (What was the
right way to pronounce this town on the Ems?
Telgte or Telchte, or should one go so far as
to say Tächte like the native maids?) (34)(10)

This matter of correct pronunciation would have to be of paramount interest to any academy which sought to regulate and regularize the "German" language. Already in the availability of three alternate pronunciations --the literary Telgte, as it is written, the dialect Telchte, as it is pronounced locally, and Tächte, as it is uttered in the vulgar-- there is a challenge. Decisions would have to be made, but on what basis should one decide? And who would have the authority to legitimate one pronunciation while prohibiting variations? The fact that the poets gathered in the town laugh indicates a serious human problem of language, especially pronunciation: to an ear habituated to a particular phonetic system, some sounds make a comical impression. Although this is irrational or rather pre-rational, it is a factor which cannot be easily discounted and certainly cannot be eliminated. In a nutshell, this was one of the most serious obstacles to the success of a national German academy, and remains one to this day.

The difficulty was that no one spoke "German." As is still obvious to travellers today, there is a large number of very different German dialects. This is something to which Grass himself is sensitive. He depicts

the poets of the seventeenth century as quite aware of the tension between a theoretically existing "German" and their own live linguistic reality:

What should pass as High German and what place should be allotted to the dialects? For learned and polyglot as they all were --Gryphius and Hofmannswaldau were eloquent in seven tongues-- they all mouthed and whispered, babbled and bellowed, declaimed and postured, in some sort of regional German.

Though he had been living and teaching mathematics in Danish Zealand ever since Wallenstein's invasion of Pomerania, Lauremberg expressed himself in his native Rostock brogue, and Rist the Holstein preacher answered him in Low German. After thirty years of residence in London, the diplomat Weckherlin still spoke an unvarnished Swabian. And into the predominantly Silesian conversation, Moscherosch mixed his Alemannic, Harsdörffer his peppery Franconian, Buchner and Gerhardt their Saxon, Greflinger his Lower Bavarian gargle, and Dach a Prussian kneaded and shaped between Memel and Pregel. (34-35)(11)

Absent is the voice of someone speaking "German." Any moves towards standardization and unification would have required concessions from various sides, but there was no center towards which the sides could move. Compromises were difficult to make because everyone had specific loyalties to his own way of speaking. These loyalties were not just options, but would have been then, as they are now, an integral element of speech habits. Grass knows how those poets would have spoken because he recognizes, as we all must, that our speech betrays our origins.

Linguistic particularism included all aspects of language, including vocabulary and syntax as well as

pronunciation. Against the dream of a universalized "German" there stood radical untranslatability. Grass makes the problem clear. The poet cannot communicate everything from his Low German into a lingua franca:

Too bad that only a few could follow the
Holstein dialect. After his reading, the
author had to translate the pithiest bits
for Moscherosch, Harsdörffer, Weckherlin,
and the Silesians, and, losing their flavor
in the process, they became as flat as the
junker's speeches. Consequently, the
discussion revolved not so much around
the scene from Rist's peace play, as
around the general decline of morality.
(116)(12)

Grass, who has strong sympathies for the historically linguistically underprivileged North Germans, is critical of the shift into abstract theory as an alternative to the work of understanding what has been uttered in a "dialect." Language and the possibility of literature are intertwined permanently.

From the point of view of poets and writers, one of the thorniest matters was the problem of end rhyme. The difficulty is that what might be an acceptable rhyme in one dialect would be aesthetically unpleasing or even impossible in another. Grass cites an example whose effect is difficult to render in translation:

And yet Weckherlin's playful, sometimes
amateurish little poems, written years before
the appearance of Opitz's book on German
poetics, had retained their freshness, all the
more so because, thanks to his Swabian tongue,
the old man managed to use his delivery to help
his frivolous verses and sometimes dreary
rhymes -- "honeyed lips"/"soul's eclipse"-- over
the rough spots. (178)(13)

Dieter Breuer has reviewed the history of the battle between High German and Low German, which turned on just such niceties, extended well into the eighteenth

century, and often became part of greater struggles.(14)

Discussions about "correct" or "acceptable" language hinge on details and, since they involve aesthetic judgement, cannot be resolved through reference to authorities external to the language. Grass cites another notorious example, the question of whether "Deutschland" should be spelled with a voiced initial consonant ("Deutschland") or with a voiceless initial ("Teutschland").

(45)(15) This debate was waged until the eighteenth century with remarkable philological inventiveness and industry. What Grass does not make explicit, but would surely know, is that the triumph of the voiced initial was ultimately a political decision, a sign of the power of conservative linguistic nationalism. The specifics are less important here than the mechanisms at work. When all is said and done, the decisions about linguistic matters, when they are formalized as decisions in something like an academy, are supported by external social and political forces. In the case of the Germans, and not only them, the linguistic plurality was not separable from political divisions. Grass depicts this skillfully in the novel as the tensions of the Thirty Years' War intrude upon the gathering of the poets, with Protestants and Catholics barely tolerating each other. Sectarianism becomes a factor in the discussion of language itself:

After years of practice, Rist and Zesen were at it again--two purifiers of the language, wrangling over spelling, accent, the naturalization of foreign words, neologisms. Theological entanglements soon developed. For they were all religious.
(147)(16)

The truces in the space of the academy are fragile because the pressures from the outside are intense. Language issues become pawns in grander political, social and theological games.

The men of letters cannot avoid entanglement with the existing political institutions. From the beginning, they have been displaced from the political centers, here represented by the cities where the peace negotiations are

underway, through the superior and arrogant political power: "None of the Swedish officers had ever heard of the illustrious visitors." (11)(17) There is no patron for the gathering. This makes the material situation very precarious, as there is little food to eat in a war-ravaged realm. Worse still, the independence of the poets turns out to be an illusion, for they benefit indirectly from the protection of the military camps. Thus, they have neither the advantages that come to academies through patronage nor the freedoms that might compensate for relative insecurity.

The true powerlessness of the poets is demonstrated by the failure of their attempt to establish peace for the political realm. This was the greatest mission of the proponents of the academy: to unify through language and learning the political realm sundered by politics and war. The poets propose themselves as the unifying center through a manifesto:

Then the foreign crowns were invoked, and immediately thereafter, the whole lot of them, of whatever denomination, German, French, and Swedish, were castigated, for the German rulers had opened up the fatherland to foreign hordes, while the foreigners had chosen Germany as their battlefield, so that it now lay dismembered and unrecognizable, all loyalty lost with the old order and all beauty destroyed. The poets alone, so said the appeal, still knew what deserved the name of German. With many 'ardent sighs and tears' they had knitted the German language as the last bond; they were the other, the true Germany. (102-103)(18)

This becomes doubly ironical. First, as we have seen, the poets were hardly able to agree on what "German" was, and were utterly disunited in their attitude to language. Their unity is no more realized than the political unity. Nevertheless, they manage to compose their manifesto. The second irony is that this manifesto literally goes up in smoke. A fire breaks out and consumes the inn,

together with the text of the proclamation. "And so," remarks the saddened narrator, "what would in any case not have been heard, remained unsaid." (19) Not empowered by any political authority, the proclamation of peace by the men of letters is totally ineffectual and they go their separate ways.

The inability to unify the language or to unify the state through language is ascribed by Grass to the German poets and writers of the seventeenth century, but there is also an allegory at work. As the dedication of the book to Hans Werner Richter makes clear, this is also Grass's commentary upon the rise and fall of the "Group of 47" ("Gruppe 47"). Named for the year in which it began to meet, 1947, the "Group of 47" consisted of a number of German writers who assembled on a more or less regular basis for some twenty years, until 1967, in order to listen to new literary works being read, to criticize and applaud them, and to discuss common problems of literary production. From 1950 onwards the group awarded a literary prize. It was, despite the reduction to essentials, still an effort in the academy tradition, all the more ambitious given the post-World War II setting, when the possibility of German literature seemed most precarious. At first, it seemed as if the Group could even work to unite the regionalized and divided Germany of the occupation, with at least tacit participation by East German writers such as Stephan Hermlin or Bodo Uhse. Gradually, however, there followed dissent and disintegration, as has been studied in the literary sociological analysis of the Group by Friedhelm Kröll. (20) According to one participant, a decisive factor leading to the decline of the Group were the political events of the 1960's, including the student movement, and culminating in the debate around the remarkable session of the Group held in that small provincial town in New Jersey, Princeton. A consequence of this session was an intensive discussion of the very possibility of literature:

Sure, and from then on there also began something like a totally different theme, the crisis of literature as such, until then literature had been an unquestioned

cultural property. There simply was literature. And from then on it was put into question or rather it was challenged as to its function, sometimes very dogmatically and orthodoxly and iconoclastically.(21)

Rather than defending literature or advancing literary causes, the Group of 47 came to be a focal point where literature and politics clashed. I think it would be a mistake to see Grass's novel as a satire on the Group of 47 or even as a direct roman à clef, as some German critics attempted to read it.(22) Instead, Grass has perceived and analyzed what seem to be fundamental patterns in the confused history of the German failure to establish a national language academy. The failure has to do with the history of the language, with political history, and with the history of unachieved Utopias. The resigned voice of the narrator ends the novel on a note of doubt about what the history of failure means:

But during that century no one assembled us
again in Telgte or anywhere else. I know how
much further meetings would have meant to us.
I know who I was then. I know even more.
But who set the Bridge Tavern on fire, I
don't know, I don't know. (199)(23)

It seems that this may be Grass's own voice. As late as 1979, a dozen years after the end of the Group of 47, and the year in which Das Treffen in Telgte appeared, Grass commented on the need for a literary association:

It's the young authors who need that now.
And criticism needs it too. It was necessary
in a country without a capital, consisting of
provinces, to constitute at least once a year
something like a literary substitute capital.(24)

In other words, there is still need of a national academy, if only because there is no nation.

NOTES

- 1) Hermann M. Flasdieck, Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung (Walter Biedermann), 1928).
- 2) Shirley Brice Heath, "A National Language Academy? Debate in the New Nation," International Journal of the Sociology of Language 11 (1976), 9-43. In the "Introduction" to Language in the USA, ed. Charles A. Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), the editors note ironies in the American attitude to academies: "Yet many of these same Americans who are so concerned about correctness are also proud of the American freedom from authoritarian interference on language, and would bitterly oppose Congress passing a law about correct pronunciation, spelling, grammar, or vocabulary. They would ridicule the idea of a French Academy setting standards of language and be quite bewildered by the linguistic decisions of a Norwegian Parliament legislating the language of government correspondence or children's schoolbooks." (xxvii)
- 3) Outlines of the problem are sketched in my dissertation on German Poets and the "Republic of Letters" (Gelehrtenrepublik) to 1850 (Johns Hopkins, 1983), 102-178. I will rely upon information there in this discussion, without citing specifics. The Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel has done much to further the study of this topic for the 17th and 18th centuries through its symposia and publications, such as Der Akademiegedanke im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, ed. Fritz Hartmann and Rudolf Vierhaus (Bremen/Wolfenbüttel: Jacobi Verlag, 1977).
- 4) Günter Grass, Das Treffen in Telgte: Eine Erzählung (Darmstadt/Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1979).
- 5) Günter Grass, The Meeting at Telgte, transl. Ralph Manheim (New York: Fawcett Crest, by arrangement with Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981). This excellent translation will be quoted in the text; the German originals will be quoted in the notes.
- 6) Recent surveys include Christoph Stoll, Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts (München: List,

1973); and Karl F. Otto, Jr., Die Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1972).

7) Otto, Die Sprachgesellschaften, 64: "Die Sprachgesellschaften werden in der Forschungsliteratur zumeist negativ beurteilt; man findet sogar die Behauptung, sie hätten gar nichts geleistet, weder im positiven noch im negativen Sinn."

8) Klaus Conermann, "War die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft eine Akademie? Über das Verhältnis der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft zu den italienischen Akademien," Sprachgesellschaften--Sozietäten--Dichterguppen: Arbeitsgespräch der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 18. bis 30. Juni 1977, ed. Martin Bircher and Ferdinand van Ingen (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1978), 103-130; Ulrich Im Hof, Das gesellige Jahrhundert: Gesellschaft und Gesellschaften im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (München: C. H. Beck, 1982); Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660 (London: Duckworth, 1975).

9) Some of the practical and theoretical difficulties are explored in Joan Rubin and Björn H. Jernudd, Can Language be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971). Perhaps at some point sociolinguists, literary historians and historians of institutions such as academies will find common ground for their common issues.

10) Rundum lief Gelächter. (Wie man die Stadt an der Ems richtig nenne: Telgte, Telchte oder gar Tächte, nach Art der hiesigen Mägde?) (31)

11) Was als Hochdeutsch gelten dürfe und welchen Wert man den Mundarten beimessen solle. Denn so gelehrt und vielsprachig sie alle waren--Gryphius und Hoffmannswaldau zeigten sich in sieben Zungen beredt--, so regional maulten und flüsterten, babbelten, polterten, dehnten, walzten und stelzten sie ihr Deutsch.

Der Rostocker Lauremberg breitete, obgleich als Lehrer der Mathematik seit Wallensteins Einfall im Pommern im dänischen Seeland heimisch, seinen angestammten Snack über den Tisch, und auf Platt gab ihm der Holsteiner Prediger Rist zurücker. Seit bald dreissig Jahren in London sässig, schwäbelte der Diplomat

Weckherlin immer noch ungemildert. Und in das vorherrschende Schlesisch mischten Moscherosch Alemanisch, Harsdörffer sein hitziges Fränkisch, Buchner und Gerhardt ihr Sächsisch, Greflinger sein niederbayrisches Gurgeln und Dach sein zwischen Memel und Pregel gewalktes Preussisch. (32)

12) Schade, dass nur wenige dem holsteiner Platt folgen konnten. Nach seiner Lesung musste der Autor für Moscherosch, Harsdörffer, Weckherlin und für die Schlesier die deftigsten Passagen übersetzen, wobei sie an Saft verloren und papieren wie des Junkers Rede wurden. Deshalb entzündete sich der Disput weniger an der Szene des Friedenspiels, mehr an der allgemeinen Sittenlosigkeit. (105)

13) Und doch waren Weckherlins spielerische, stellenweis unbeholfene, Jahre vor der Opitzschen Poetiklehre geschriebene Liedchen frisch geblieben, zumal es der Alte beim Vortrag verstand, die leichtfertigen Verse und flachen Reime --'Mein liebeiches Schätzlein Gib mir so vil schmätzlein...'-- mit schwäbischer Zunge über jede Stolperschwelle zu heben. (163)

14) Dieter Breuer, "Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem oberdeutschen Literaturprogramm im 17. Jahrhundert: Zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und gesellschaftlicher Programmatik," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 53 (1971), 53-92.

15) In 1776, Jakob Michael Lenz wrote to Isaak Haffner and asked him not to insult the Fatherland with the "D" version, since it would derive "Deut" from the Low Saxon meaning "inconsequentiality," rather than from the mythic-heroic founder Teut.

16) Wieder hatte es--wie schon seit Jahren eingeübt--zwischen Rist und Zesen begonnen: das Gezänk zweier Sprachreiniger. Es ging um Schreibweise, Klangfarbe, Verteutschung, um Neuwörter. Bald hatte man sich theologisch verstrickt. Denn fromm waren sie alle. (134)

17) Keinem der schwedischen Herren waren ihre Namen bekannt. (10)

18) Dann wurden die fremden Kronen angerufen, um gleich darauf allesamt, ob Deutsche, Welsche oder der Schwed, ohne Ansehen der Konfession verklagt zu werden, weil die Deutschen den fremdländischen Horden das Vaterland

preisgegeben und die Fremden sich Deutschland zum Tummelplatz erkoren hätten, so dass es nun zerstückerle liege, ohne alte Ordnung alle Treu verloren habe und-- nach Verlust seiner Schönheit-- nicht mehr kenntlich sei. Einzig die Dichter, das sagte der Aufruf, wüssten noch, was deutsch zu nennen sich lohne. Sie hätten 'mit vielen heißen Seuffzern und Zähnen' die deutsche Sprache als letztes Band geknüpft. Sie seien das andere, das wahrhaftige Deutschland. (92)

19) So blieb ungesagt, was doch nicht gehört worden wäre. (180)

20) Friedhelm Kröll, Die "Gruppe 47": Soziale Lage und gesellschaftliches Bewusstsein literarischer Intelligenz in der Bundesrepublik (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1977).

21) Kröll, Die "Gruppe 47." 216: Tja, und von da ab begann auch so etwas wie eine völlig andere Thematik, die Krise der Literatur insgesamt als, bis dahin war die Literatur ein selbstverständlicher kultureller Besitz. Es gab eben Literatur. Und von da ab wurde sie eben in Frage gestellt bzw. sie wurde auf ihre Funktion hin befragt, manchmal sehr dogmatisch und orthodox und bildstürmerisch. (216)

22) Discussed briefly by Hanspeter Brode, Günter Grass (München: C. H. Beck and Verlag edition text + kritik, 1979), 204-205.

23) Doch hat uns in jenem Jahrhundert nie wieder jemand in Telgte oder an anderem Ort versammelt. Ich weiss, wie sehr uns weitere Treffen gefehlt haben. Ich weiss, wer ich damals gewesen bin. Ich weiss noch mehr. Nur wer den Brückenhof hat in Flammen aufgehen lassen, weiss ich nicht, weiss ich nicht . . . (182)

24) Quoted by Brode, Günter Grass, from Der Spiegel 14 (1979): 'Der jungen Autoren fehlt das jetzt. Und der Kritik fehlt es auch. Es war in einem Land ohne Hauptstadt, bestehend aus Provinzen, notwendig, zumindest einmal im Jahr so etwas wie eine literarische Ersatzhauptstadt zu konstituieren.' (198-199)

THE GREEK LANGUAGE QUESTION

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The roots of the so-called Modern Greek Language Question go very far back; they can in fact be traced right up to the end of the first century B.C. By Modern Greek Language Question we mean the existence in Greece today of two more or less distinct forms of modern Greek, the Katharevousa an erudite, highbrow form deriving from a static written tradition of many centuries, and the demotike, a spoken form due to a living, developing spoken tradition which falls into several dialects. These dialects, however, tend to disappear today, because of the "common" compromise-Greek taught at school or used by the public administration, radio, television, the press and the armed services. But if we are to understand the serious linguistic problems of modern Greece, we must trace, even though it be in bare outline, the development of the Greek language from antiquity to the present day, a very long, but at the same time a most interesting process.

The language the Greeks spoke, when they settled in their Mediterranean home, was an offspring of the common Indo-European tongue, from which nearly all the European and some Asiatic languages were derived, mixed with relatively few linguistic elements taken over from the pre-Hellenic inhabitants they found in the lands known today as Greece. The earliest examples of Greek we can lay our hands on belong to a period when the language was already divided into dialects, a fact no doubt due to the geographical formation of the Greek lands, which are separated from one another by high mountain ranges and the sea.

The ancient Greek dialects consist of greater and smaller groups, whose formation is closely connected with the history and the migrations of the various Greek tribes. The exact definition of these groups, based on such inscriptions, literary works and writings of ancient grammarians as have survived, is by no means easy, and is still a matter of controversy among scholars. Four main dialectal groups, however, can be clearly distinguished,

those of Attic, Ionic, Aeolic and Doric Greek, even though, strictly speaking, Attic and Ionic should be considered as one. All these dialects were used exclusively in their respective areas, both in the spoken and the written word, till the fifth century B.C., when Attic Greek began imposing itself on many Hellenic lands outside Attica.

But even before the fifth century B.C. the Panhellenic significance of the Homeric epics should not be under-rated. For that great epic cycle's diction, a highly artificial diction, consisting mainly of Ionic mixed with some Aeolic elements, had influenced much Greek poetry composed in various Greek lands, and its influence was felt even in prose. Naturally, this influence was greatest on those forms of poetry which had metrical affinities with the heroic epic (the didactic epic, elegy and the epigram), and on Ionic prose, which, before Attic Greek came into ascendancy, had acquired the status of a common Hellenic literary prose used by writers who were not even Ionians by birth, as for example by Herodotus, Hellanicus, Hippocrates or the Syracusan Antiochus.

But the Panhellenic literary significance of Ionic Greek was fully superseded in the fifth century by the Attic dialect, an achievement due to the great political and cultural significance Athens acquired after the end of the Persian Wars (490-479 B.C.). For Athens assumed the leadership of the Greeks against further Persian attacks and to Athens flocked from all parts of the Greek world poets, orators, philosophers and artists who kindled the local genius and turned the city into the "Hearth of Greek Wisdom" and the "teacher" of Greece.

The brilliance and the supremacy of the Athenian culture and way of life was soon accepted by the whole of Greece; and the great literature written in Athens, as well as the activities of her armies and her navy, the Attic settlements sent abroad (the *kleruchies*), and the Athenian law courts in which all the "allies" had to settle their differences, soon diffused Attic Greek far beyond the narrow boundaries of Attica. Thus the Attic dialect spread and became the true lingua franca of the Greeks, the first stage of expansion in its triumphant history.

The significance of Athenian culture and of Attic Greek did not cease with the defeat of Athens at the hands of Sparta in 404 B.C., but continued well into the fourth century and long after the triumph of the Macedonians at Chaeronea (338 B.C.). So it came about that when Alexander the Great became master of the Greeks and with his triumphant campaigns spread Greek culture across the conquered East, he chose Attic Greek as the official language of his "World Empire." For that was not only the lingua franca of the Greeks, but also the language which the Macedonian court and Macedonian diplomacy had employed from the days of Philip II, as well as the language in which Alexander himself had been educated.

Thus Attic Greek enters into a new phase of its history, assuming the much greater role of the lingua franca of Alexander's vast empire, the lingua franca of the entire Middle East. And this role was consolidated by Alexander's successors who followed closely in his footsteps.

The many great Hellenistic cities, which gradually sprang up along the trading routes to the East, were the channels through which Attic Greek spread to the various "barbarian" nations, which were drawn into the orbit of Greek culture. And not only the Hellenistic kingdoms of Alexander's successors used Greek as their lingua franca, but also other Eastern kingdoms, which never came under the rule of Macedonian monarchs, but led an independent life till the time when they were conquered by Rome.

But Attic Greek, that highly evolved and refined linguistic medium, had to adapt itself to its new international role. Neither the non-Attic speaking Greeks, who came to populate the large new cities of the Middle East, nor the Hellenized barbarians, a great number of whom learned Greek as adults, could pronounce properly, or use correctly the subtle Attic Greek they were then forced to learn. So a number of significant changes occurred in this common Greek language, the Koine, which made it more suitable for its new international role. Its grammar and its syntax were notably simplified, strict classical distinctions were overlooked, and a few elements from other languages of the Middle East were taken over.

In fact, in this so-called Period of the Koine (c. 300 B.C. - 300 A.D.) all the major changes came about which led to the later stages of Greek known as Medieval and Modern Greek.

It might be expedient at this point to single out two major changes in pronunciation, which had a direct bearing on the further development of Greek poetry. The first is that the classical distinction between long and short vowels and diphthongs (on which the classical meters had based their rhythms) disappeared; and the second is that all three classical "musical" accents (acute, grave, and circumflex) developed into one stress accent, which changed the cadence of words. Thus by the end of the Koine period, classical poetry when read aloud in the pronunciation of the day retained none of its original metrical effects. A new metrical system, therefore, had to be devised, whose rhythms were based on the number of syllables and on set accents within a line, a system which, as far as we know, made its first appearance in Greek in early Byzantine Christian poetry and in the acclamations to the Byzantine Emperors; for no really early Byzantine folk-songs have survived.

This common Greek language, the Koine especially that of the first three Christian centuries would have prevailed and been the basis of the written common Greek language up to our own days, had it not been for the appearance of Atticism, which brought about an irreconcilable cleavage between the spoken and the written word. For every living spoken language develops over the years according to certain as yet unpredictable laws; and the written word moves gradually closer and closer to the spoken idiom, on which it constantly draws, but with which it never becomes identical. This natural further development of the Koine was forever impeded by the Atticists who dominated the literary scene in the days of Augustus (63 B.C. - 14 A.D.).

Already, from the middle of the first century B.C., the literary and artistic taste of the educated Greeks swerved back to a blind admiration of all Attic creations of the classical centuries, the fifth and the fourth. All that the Hellenistic world had achieved in art and letters with very few exceptions, Callimachus, for example, is one

of them, was despised; only what was Attic and classical was considered aesthetically and morally significant and worthy of imitation. In oratory and in letters (and poetry in those days was under the heel of oratory), it was the so-called Second Sophistic which, raising the banner of Atticism, dictated the law. Thus the fashion was launched that writers should move away from the "debased" spoken Greek of that period, and endeavor to write pure Attic Greek such as Plato or Demosthenes had written. This was of course a romantic endeavor doomed to failure, for not even the best Atticising authors ever succeeded in approaching even remotely, the style of their great Attic examples. Nevertheless, that was the ideal, and all the schools of rhetoric and grammar of late antiquity desperately tried to teach their pupils to write correct Attic Greek, believing that only thus great literature could be once again created. The result was that not only all spontaneity and originality disappeared from most Greek writings of late antiquity, but that a detrimental retarding effect was exercised upon the development of all subsequent written Greek, an effect which can still be felt to the present day.

It is true that neither all late Hellenistic Greek writers could, nor did abide strictly by the precepts of Atticism; that many concessions were made, especially in literature addressed to the lower and less educated classes (as for example the Septuagint or the New Testament), and in non-literary texts (e.g., private letters, reports, contracts etc. which have been found on papyri). But it is equally true to say that the more or less strict Atticism of the educated classes led to an unbridgeable cleavage between spoken and written Greek, which persisted right through the Middle Ages (c. 330-1453), the long centuries of Turkish domination (1453 - 1829), and is still to this day bedeviling the Greeks. For the spoken language, as a living tongue, naturally developed on the lips of the people in the course of their long and perturbed history, moving further and further away from the Atticist ideal; whereas written Greek on the whole continued till the 20th century to strive after the unattainable, to emulate the great Attic examples of the

fifth and the fourth centuries B.C., a tendency which was also supported by the Greek Orthodox church.

But just as in the late Hellenistic centuries, in the Byzantine world too, side by side with highbrow Atticising literature which only the educated classes understood, a number of literary works appeared in a more or less ordinary spoken idiom (e.g., religious poetry, the lives of the saints, chronicles etc.) which was addressed to the numerous less educated classes. And no doubt then too a great number of folk-songs and folk-tales must have also circulated in pure demotic Greek, which with a few exceptions have now disappeared.

Of great interest for the history of the Greek language as well as for the history of Greek poetry are the versions of the so-called "Epic of Digenis Akritas" and the "Ptochoprodomic Poems," for they are the first extant written monuments which reflect the spoken Byzantine language of the tenth to the twelfth centuries. They are in fact rightly considered the first monuments portraying the "beginnings" of Modern Greek poetry which gradually, after the Fourth Crusade (1204), increasingly spread, especially in those Greek lands which were conquered by the Franks, and where formal Byzantine education seems on the whole to have broken down. Moreover, the influence of the Franks brought about the florescence of new poetic forms in Greek, such as the Verse Romance, the Verse Chronicle, or the sonnet (the latter especially in Cyprus), in which a language was used, which was close to the spoken Greek of the period and of the area in which they were composed.

As some of these poetic works, notably those composed in Crete, have a pronounced dialectal color, a few words must be added here about the modern Greek dialects. All modern Greek dialects are direct descendants of the Koine, the Greek which developed in the Middle East between c. 330 B.C. and 330 A.D., and which travelled back to mainland Greece to oust the ancient Greek, Attic, Ionic, Aeolic and Doric dialects. The only notable exception is the Tsakonian Dialect to this day spoken in the Southern Peloponnese, in which a number of ancient Doric elements are still to be traced. One of the clearest proofs of the full independence of the Modern

Greek from the Ancient Greek dialects is that they do not even geographically coincide.

Not enough work has as yet been done on the modern Greek dialects, but it is clear that they fall into two major groups, a Northern and a Southern. The main distinguishing features are that in the Northern group the unaccented vowels *i* and *ou* tend to drop out, whereas the vowels *e* and *o* are turned into *ou*. But no matter how different one modern Greek dialect is from another, the unity of the modern Greek language as a whole is undisputed. Greek never split up into several independent languages, as for example Latin developed into the several Neo-Latin languages we know.

Side by side with the various modern Greek dialects, in which also some of the finest folk-songs have been composed, and above them so to speak, we also find in Greece today a Common Modern Greek Language, a Modern Greek Koine. A number of dialectal elements and a variety of parallel grammatical and syntactical forms can still be found in it, and the influence which the written erudite language (the *Katharevousa*) has exercised upon it is all too evident. But, in spite of all that is written and said today, this Modern Greek Koine is the means of communication between all Greeks, when they do not wish to use their local dialects or when they do wish to appear "educated." It is based on the Southern Greek dialect group, whose center is Athens, and to a great extent is the basis of the literary language used by all creative writers since the eighties of the last century, when the final major battle between the Atticising *Katharevousa* and the spoken demotic took place.

The origins of the language controversy, as we have seen, go back to the Atticists and the days of Augustus. But in the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries that vital dispute came to the front again. A number of enlightened men of letters saw that the dead weight of Atticism, which stifled the written Greek word, was a serious impediment in the education of the Greek nation, which was preparing its struggle for liberation from the Turks. They met with the stubborn, bigoted resistance of those who saw in the purist

tradition the continuity of the Greek national tradition and the greatest claim of the Greeks to fame.

Various endeavors at a compromise solution were made, the most significant and the most influential of which was that of Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), who proclaimed that writers should "neither be the tyrants of the vulgar-speaking masses, nor the slaves of their vulgarity."

The compromise he suggested was unfortunately for the further development of written Greek closer to the Atticising tendencies than to the spoken idiom. It was, however, on the whole accepted by the liberated Greek nation and, though repeatedly attacked, was more or less used in the schools and universities of Greece during the 19th and 20th centuries.

But compromise solutions, however useful, are seldom satisfactory. The "middle way" of Korais was attacked both by the extreme purists, who found an able champion in Constantine Kontos, a distinguished professor of Classical Greek literature at the University of Athens, and by the demoticists. The latter, exasperated by the pedantry and the narrow-mindedness of the extreme purists, advocated a full return of the written word to the spoken idiom, which at the time was neither possible nor expedient.

The major battle flared up again in the 1880's, the leaders of the demoticists being J. Psicharis, professor of Greek at the École des Langues Orientales of Paris, and Kostis Palamas, the distinguished poet and founder of the New School of Athens in poetry. The struggle was prolonged and bitter, and to this day has not fully subsided. For the demotic movement, enlisting in its ranks a great number of enlightened and inspired fighters, broadened from a purely linguistic into a cultural movement, which tried to shake off the dead weight of the whole classical tradition, and turn to the living Modern Greek roots of literature and art. Unfortunately, the linguistic and cultural controversy was soon turned into a political issue, which led to great asperity and much misunderstanding. Nor did the adoption of an extreme form of spoken Greek, the Malliare, by the communists in their political propaganda help for a sane

and cold-blooded assessment of the argument put forward by enlightened demoticists.

In all fairness, it should be said that the *Katharevousa* (which to this day is used by the Church and many conservative educated people) in its more successful forms of the 19th and 20th centuries is a precise and adequate means of expression, and has a rich vocabulary and much exact terminology. But in its grammar it still clings too closely to Attic Greek; it is too far removed from the spoken idiom to be readily understandable by the whole nation, or to serve the needs of a living and developing creative literature. For this reason, from the 1880's up to the present day all poets and novelists of significance, with the notable exception of Kavaphy, have turned to a demotic, which is close to the spoken idiom, and which is constantly being enriched by elements taken over from the erudite tradition. Thus in the hands of its recent distinguished exponents, G. Seferis, for example, in verse or N. Kazantzakis in prose, it has developed into a vivid and precise literary language, which is enjoyed and admired by the younger Greeks as well as by the many friends of Greece abroad, who believe in the future of Greek literature and culture. Finally the government of Mr. Constantine Kararuanlis adopted in 1975 the "spoken" demotic form of Greek as the official state language, and introduced its teaching in all the state-run schools of the country.(1)

NOTES

1) The present brief survey is based on the excellent lectures given by Professor G. Anagnostopoulos (+1938) of the University of Athens, which I was fortunate enough to follow, but which unfortunately were never published.

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SWAHILI POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN TANZANIA: THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL SWAHILI COUNCIL (BAKITA)(1)

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Following Kloss' (1969) definition, language planning may be divided into status planning and corpus planning. The former set of activities includes the allocation of languages to various functions within the community (often nation), and is usually the result of policy making. Corpus planning includes the standardization, elaboration and codification activities necessary to enable the languages to fulfill their designated functions. While these two sets of language planning activities are often carried out by different organizational structures, the basic claim that this paper demonstrates is that a model of corpus planning cannot be constructed without a clear, well supported language policy.

Few studies have appeared on the organizational structure and actual operation of specific language (=corpus) planning agencies (Fellman and Fishman, 1977). Fellman and Fishman (1977), for example, give a summary of the activities and organization of two committees of the Hebrew Language Academy. Their goal is to examine the actual functioning of the language planning process in order eventually to include the workings of the language planning bodies (their membership, structure, work habits, etc.) as variables for study and evaluation in the language (=corpus) planning process. In the case of Israel, however, the modernization of Hebrew received full governmental and institutional backing. Furthermore, the high level of education and literacy of Israeli citizens provided a foundation for the development of modern Hebrew.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the workings of another language planning agency, The National Swahili Council (BAKITA), which operates in a different sociolinguistic environment than the Hebrew Language Academy. Although in many ways the processes and problems facing vocabulary planners are the same everywhere, the study of BAKITA shows that the overall

success of such organizations depends on their having a model of the vocabulary expansion process that provides for a realistic view of the sociolinguistic situation (users/audience etc.). Such a model cannot be formed without a clear language policy. This was lacking in Tanzania, especially in the educational sector. Now that this has been clarified, however, language planners in Tanzania are better equipped to construct a model of the vocabulary expansion process.

In this paper I will describe the structure and operation of BAKITA, focusing on problems currently under treatment. First I will present a brief summary of contemporary Tanzanian language policy and the history of Standard Swahili in order to put the work of BAKITA into perspective. The main part of the paper is divided into two sections. The first describes the organizational structure, membership and duties of BAKITA. The second provides examples of problems currently being dealt with at BAKITA. The paper concludes with observations on the organization's success in achieving its goals. Recommendations are made, in light of recent modifications in educational language policy, for improving Bakita's effectiveness in implementing the policy through the adoption of a model of vocabulary expansion.

Background

The United Republic of Tanzania, located on the East African Indian Ocean coast between Kenya to the north and Mozambique to the south, has a population of approximately 19 million people who speak over 120 languages. Languages belonging to all the major African language families are spoken in Tanzania (Nilotic, Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic and Niger-Congo). However, the majority of Tanzanians are speakers of Bantu languages, one of the branches of the Niger-Congo family (Polome', 1980). Two languages, English and Swahili, serve as *lingua francas*, though their functional allocation is quite different. English, taught as a school subject and used as the medium of instruction in post-primary education, is known by a very small proportion of the population. Swahili, on the other hand, as the national and official language,

serves as the medium of primary education, and is the language of wider communication. Swahili is known by well over 90% of the population.(2)

Swahili spread as a lingua franca throughout East Africa, but especially in Tanganyika, shortly before and during the colonial era.(3) Its spread was accelerated by the necessities of colonization, world wars, and the independence movement, during which it became the medium of national unity (Abdulaziz, 1972a). Shortly after independence in 1960, Swahili was declared the national and official language. In 1967, it was declared the medium of instruction in all primary schools as well as the required medium for all official government communication. Also in 1967, the Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa - BAKITA - (the National Swahili Council) was formed to implement Tanzania's official Swahili language policy.(4)

Language policy in Tanzania refers overtly to the use of Swahili and English in two sectors of national life, government and education (Dunn, 1984). The policy has evolved since independence through the statements of individuals in policy-making positions. According to the policy, Swahili is to be used as the medium of participation in national affairs at all levels and in all branches of the government, though in practice, in a few areas such as at the higher levels of the legal system, English is used. Swahili is also the medium of primary education and primary teacher training. Policy formulated in the late 1960s and early 1970s called for the switch from English to Swahili as the medium of instruction at the secondary, and eventually at the tertiary, levels. However, following a long period of uncertainty, this policy was officially reversed in 1983 by the Minister of Education and in 1984 by the President. Speaking at the opening of a seminar of UKUTA (Usanifu wa Kiswahili na Ushairi Tanzania - Tanzanian Society for Standardization of Swahili and Poetry) President Nyerere confirmed that the policy had been changed.

"English is the Swahili of the world and for this reason must be taught in [Tanzania]... The President added that English will indeed be the

medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher education. (Mzalendo, October 28, 1984).(5)

In the governmental sector, where the Swahili language policy has been clear and well articulated, implementation proceeded well. In the educational sector, on the other hand, the vacillation among policy makers as to whether the go-ahead would be given for the use of Swahili as the medium of secondary education caused a certain amount of uncertainty among language planners. While vocabulary lists and a number of Swahili textbooks were prepared in anticipation of the switch-over to Swahili medium, without a clear sense of whether Swahili would actually be allocated for use in this function, work did not proceed at a rapid pace. Since 1983, however, the status of Swahili in the educational sector seems clear, and the task of corpus planners, therefore, better defined than in the past. Since the policy seems to limit the role of Swahili in the educational sector to primary and adult education, BAKITA can coordinate the task of vocabulary expansion with these audiences in mind, producing vocabulary which will be acceptable to them.

Kiswahili Sanifu (Standard Swahili) is the variety of Swahili which is referred to in Tanzania's language policy and whose correct use and elaboration is of concern to BAKITA. Standard Swahili formally came into being in the 1930s when the members of the Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee selected the dialect of Swahili spoken in Unguja, the main town of the island of Unguja (Zanzibar), as the basis for the standard language (Whitley, 1957, 1969). This committee, composed of European representatives from each of the territories of East Africa, sought to normalize the use of Swahili, particularly in education, in order to make possible the use of standard textbooks and examinations throughout the territory. For a short time, the committee held an imprimatur on the publication of all Swahili books, but this control was lost with the expansion of Swahili publishing after World War II. The committee's early work also included the revision of the Swahili/English, and the production of the English/Swahili dictionaries

(Interterritorial Committee, 1939) which served virtually as the only dictionaries of the language until the publication in 1980 of the Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu (Standard Swahili Dictionary) (Institute for Kiswahili Research).

After World War II, the committee, now comprised of European and African members, retained its authority in matters of Swahili usage, although exercise of this authority was limited due to the static budget of the committee and the creation of the East African Literature Bureau which oversaw Swahili publications and was not obliged to seek the imprimatur from the committee (Whiteley, 1969). Most of the committee's attention during the last decade before independence was devoted to the collection of traditional Swahili manuscripts and to the production of a series of monographs on the Swahili dialects. Throughout its life the committee published its Bulletin, later called Journal and later Swahili (now Kiswahili), which forms a valuable repository of studies on Swahili language and literature.

In the decade after independence, the duties of the committee were distributed among the two language treatment agencies currently operating with government funds in Tanzania. The Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili (the Institute for Kiswahili Research - TUKI) formed in 1964 and located at the University of Dar es Salaam, is the direct descendant of the committee. With its staff of linguists and language scholars, TUKI is primarily responsible for Swahili research and lexicography, that is the academic aspects of the implementation of Tanzania's Swahili language policy. BAKITA, created in 1967, inherited the authority that the committee exercised to establish standard Swahili usage, including supervising the expansion of vocabulary in technical fields. This two-pronged approach to the development of Swahili creates a situation of conflict of authority which has undoubtedly had an effect on the implementation of the nation's Swahili language policy.

Structure of BAKITA

BAKITA is the official body charged with coordinating the implementation of Swahili language policy

in Tanzania. Formed by an act of Parliament in 1967, the duties of BAKITA are similar to those of the former Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee (Whiteley, 1957, 1969). BAKITA seeks to further the development and use of Swahili in Tanzania; to motivate the use of Swahili in all spheres of public life; to encourage cooperation with other groups concerned with the development of Swahili; to prescribe correct use of Swahili and to prevent incorrect use; to oversee the translation of technical terms, to produce journals and pamphlets concerning the correct use of Swahili; to serve the government and public corporations as well as private individuals in solving problems which arise from the use of Swahili in their activities (Irra, 1983). As a result of a 1983 amendment to the law forming BAKITA, which enables the organization to establish international contacts, the organization's goals have been expanded to include cooperation with neighboring East African countries in the promotion and development of Swahili, as well as with those involved in the teaching of Swahili as a foreign language in Tanzania and abroad.

BAKITA, as a parastatal organization, is a semi-autonomous governmental body under the policy direction of, and financially dependent upon, the ministry to which it is attached. In the past BAKITA has been attached to the ministries of Regional Administration and Rural Development (1968), National Education (1969-1973) and Youth and National Culture (1973-1979). BAKITA has been part of the Ministry of Information and Culture until its reorganization as part of the Prime Minister's office in the year 1984.

Internally, BAKITA consists of two main divisions, the Baraza (council) and the Secretariat. The Baraza, whose chairman is appointed by the President, is the authoritative body of BAKITA. The full Baraza meets two times per year as do each of its committees: standardization, translation, editing and publication, and grammar and imprimatur. Its 53-person membership is selected from every region and language-related institution in the country, and has final authority on decisions affecting Swahili. Delegates to the Baraza are chosen on the basis of their interest and experience, professional or

non-professional, in the Swahili language, not necessarily for their expertise in the formal study of language. The delegates to the Baraza are appointed by the minister to whose ministry BAKITA is attached based upon the recommendations of the executive committee of BAKITA. All delegates to the Baraza serve a concurrent three year term after which the Baraza is dissolved and reconstituted.

The Secretariat of BAKITA, which consists of 24 full-time employees responsible for the day-to-day activities necessary to prepare work for the Baraza's approval, is divided into departments which correspond to the committees of the Baraza: standardization, translation, editing and publication, and grammar and imprimatur. Eleven of the 24 employees are academic staff with training to the Bachelor's degree level in a language-related field, though not in terminology, lexicology or language planning. In addition, the secretariat also has the department of finance and management, and the office of the executive secretary which oversees the functioning of the organization.

The academic employees of BAKITA are those who do the research and coordination of efforts involved in developing and standardizing Swahili. They are present but do not vote at the meetings of the Baraza and its committees, where one member from each department serves as secretary of the committee to which his/her department is responsible. The academic employees also act as representatives of the Baraza in various situations where issues of language use arise. The disbursement of funds is controlled, and the calendar for the Baraza is planned, by the executive committee which consists of the executive secretary and several members of the Baraza. The chairman of the Baraza is also chairman of the executive committee.

The work of BAKITA's committees is summarized below; issues arising from the work are discussed in the following section of the paper.

The committee/department on language standardization is primarily responsible for setting guidelines for and for overseeing lexical elaboration. The department prepares and disseminates lists of terms

prepared by their members of staff in cooperation with other agencies. Inquiries from writers concerning vocabulary are directed to this department. This department also cooperates with the department/committee on grammar and imprimatur in resolving problems of usage which arise in the vocabulary expansion process. The results of the department's efforts are approved by the committee on standardization of the Baraza, as well as the full Baraza, after which they may appear in Tafsiri Sanifu (Standard Translations), the list of official translations. The department of language standardization also prepares monolingual classified vocabularies; however, none of these have been published due to budgetary restrictions.

The grammar and imprimatur committee/department is concerned with problems of correct usage. This department conducts research into grammatical problems arising from the vocabulary expansion process as well as into trends in usage. The department also attempts to control usage in the media by occasional monitoring of the radio and newspaper. Manuscripts for school texts and other books are brought to this department for approval of the language before being sent for publication. The decisions on usage reached by this department/committee are disseminated in the pamphlet series Jifunze Kiswahili Uwafunze Wengine (Learn Swahili to Teach Others).

The department/committee on translation is divided into two sections, the first deals with the translation from European languages into Swahili, and the second with translation into Swahili from the ethnic group languages of Tanzania. The department was created in 1977 at the request of the Chama cha Mapinduzi (the sole political party) in order to fill the need for books in Swahili (Sambazi, 1984). At that time, a list of 25 books on politics, economics and development was suggested for translation. A number of these have been or are in the process of being translated. In addition, the department also translates school texts and reference books as well as forms and pamphlets from government departments, public corporations, government ministries and private individuals. The translation department also translates written and oral literature from other Tanzanian languages

into Swahili as a way both to preserve traditions and to enrich the vocabulary of Swahili by borrowings from ethnic group languages.

The editing and publications department/committee is concerned with the dissemination of the views and decisions of BAKITA via publications and the mass media. The weekly radio program Lugha ya Taifa (National Language) deals with efforts by people around the country to promote the use of Swahili as well as with the work of BAKITA. The journal Lugha Yetu (Our Language) which appears two times per year carries articles written in Swahili on introductory topics in linguistics, correct usage, poetry and other forms of Swahili literature, as well as lists of standard translations. Tafsiri Sanifu (Standard Translations) provides bilingual English-Swahili lists of equivalents which have been approved by the Baraza. The pamphlet Jifunze Kiswahili Uwafunze Wengine (Learn Swahili To Teach Others), prepared by the department of grammar and imprimatur, gives points on correct Swahili usage such as distinguishing often confused pairs of words. This department also cooperates in the annual book display, staged at the national trade fair.

Activities of BAKITA

Since its inception in 1967, BAKITA has grown from a one-member staff, forced to share office space with the National Youth Organization, to a staff of over 20 members, occupying their own office space in the center of Dar es Salaam. The organization's early work concentrated on implementing the use of Swahili in the governmental sector through activities designed to raise the status of Swahili and persuade all members of the public sector to use Swahili in their official communications (BAKITA, 1969-1981). In order to assist in this endeavor, BAKITA coordinated the preparation of lists of Swahili words for office and factory names and titles, as well as the translation of forms, oaths, receipts and other paraphernalia of bureaucracy. Once Swahili was firmly established in the governmental arena, BAKITA turned its attention to the preparation of vocabulary to

make Swahili an adequate instructional medium for all school subjects. With an expanded staff, BAKITA has focused in recent years on lexical elaboration and the problems arising from this task, while continuing to prescribe Standard Swahili usage.

Prescribing Usage

The definition of correct usage is an on-going process, particularly in the sociolinguistic situation in which Swahili is found. Despite the fact that nearly all Tanzanians speak Swahili, many speak it as a second language and their competence in it varies depending on such factors as urban or rural living environment, degree of proximity to the coast, degree of monolingualism among speakers of the ethnic group (first) language, extent of opportunities for travel, and degree of formal education. Knowledge of Standard Swahili is favored by opportunities for schooling beyond the third grade level, for travel and work outside the ethnic group area, and by urban living. In such a setting, variation in Swahili is to be expected. BAKITA's staff proposes standard usage to normalize this variation. Recent standardization activities have included development of a standard style sheet for use by writers and editors, a call for the elimination of the influence of English on Swahili, regularization of the orthography, and clarification of isolated cases of poor usage (e.g., confusion of near synonyms, incorrect pluralization, or incorrect agreement).

The pamphlet Jifunze Kiswahili Uwafunze Wengine (Learn Swahili to Teach Others, BAKITA, 1983), a guide to correct Swahili usage, warns against the influence of English. This influence occurs in several forms from the overt mixing of English and Swahili (Waombaji wawe na license class C - 'Applicants should have a class C license' instead of Waombaji wawe na leseni daraja la Ch) to the translation of English idioms into Swahili (kukamata basi 'to catch a bus' instead of kupanda basi 'to board a bus'). The influence of English is also seen in the abbreviations of the names of public corporations. While the name in its full form is given in Swahili, the commonly used abbreviation, even when written in Swahili,

is based on the former English name, a practice which BAKITA is attempting to change. Thus, for example, the commonly used abbreviation of Benki ya Biashara ya Taifa is NBC, from the English name National Bank of Commerce. Similarly, University of Dar es Salaam is abbreviated UDSM, rather than CKDSM, the abbreviation of the Swahili translation Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam.

Currently, BAKITA is also suggesting orthographic changes which would effect a very small number of words in the lexicon. While in most cases Swahili orthography is extremely phonemic, in a few cases the syllabicity of an initial nasal, which is not indicated by the current orthography, serves to distinguish two words. For example /mbu-ni/ (two syllables) "ostrich" and /m-bu-ni/ (three syllables) "coffee plant" are both spelled mbuni. Similarly, /mba-ya/ (two syllables) "bad, modifying class 9/10" and /m-bay-a/ (three syllables) "bad, modifying class 1 or 3" are both spelled mbaya. In other cases, although no homographs exist, the spelling does not indicate the status of the nasal. Thus words such as nje "outside," nge "scorpion," or mbwa "dog," give no clue to the fact that their nasals are syllabic. The failure to indicate the status of the nasal is felt by BAKITA and some language teachers to pose problems for learners of Swahili.

In order to rectify this perceived deficiency, BAKITA has proposed to indicate a syllabic nasal by either doubling the nasal or by separating the nasal from the following consonant with an apostrophe. According to the first proposal, words with syllabic nasals would be written with a double consonant as in mmbuni "coffee plant," or nnje "outside." Words with non-syllabic initial nasals would be written following the former spelling; mbuni "ostrich" and mbaya "bad, modifying class 9/10." The second proposal involves the use of an apostrophe to indicate syllabicity. Thus "coffee plant" and "outside" would be spelled m'buni and n'je respectively. Non-syllabic nasals would retain the original spelling. At present BAKITA has called for more research into the need for such orthographic changes. Before any changes are decided upon by the Baraza, the organization will seek full cooperation of Swahili experts as well as input from the public.

Lexical Elaboration

By virtue of its very nature as a body dedicated to the development and promotion of Standard Swahili, BAKITA's activities are fundamentally prescriptive. However, BAKITA also assumes an elaborative role in order to extend the use of Swahili to areas where it had not previously been used, for instance in publications for the general public on technical topics, such as photography, knitting, nutrition, shorthand, carpentry, etc., or in the preparation of materials for the upper primary school subjects. In this task BAKITA works with other organizations and individuals to expand the vocabulary of Swahili in order to fill the lexical gaps felt primarily by writers as they write on subjects in Swahili for the first time. In concerning itself with lexical elaboration BAKITA is fulfilling the purpose for which it was created, the development of Swahili. At the same time, BAKITA is attempting to mediate the influx of new words into the language by establishing guidelines for their acceptance.

Guidelines for Vocabulary Expansion

In their discussions, delegates to the standardization committee meetings attempt to follow criteria for the source and structure of the words to be standardized (BAKITA, n.d.; Irira, 1982). Criteria concerning the source for borrowing specify that vocabulary items are to be taken from the following languages or groups of languages in order of preference: Swahili; other Tanzanian Bantu languages; other African languages (excluding Arabic); foreign languages. Words taken from Swahili may be taken from any of its dialects (*kisabeho* 'breakfast' < Kipemba), or they may be morphological derivations on existing roots (*kitenguo* 'derivative' < *kutengua* 'to separate'). Existing Swahili words are also used to form new words by compounding (*pembenane* 'octagon' < *pembe* 'corner' and *nane* 'eight') or by the shortening of nominal phrases (*kiuavijasumu* 'antibiotic' < *kitu cha kuua vijidudu vya sumu* 'something to kill very

tiny poisonous insects'). The semantically opaque words obtained by this method, however, are often not acceptable to members of the standardization committee.

While other Bantu languages may serve as sources for vocabulary expansion in Swahili, in practice, there is little systematic surveying of these languages for words that would fill the gaps that have been identified, partly due to a lack of reference materials for these languages and partly due to the fact that these languages are not used in the subjects for which words are sought (as is English, for example). Words from ethnic group languages most often find their way into standard Swahili through the presence, at some stage of the vocabulary translation and standardization process, of a speaker of that language who suggests that his or her language has a suitable word for the concept under discussion. After the meaning and context of use of the word is explained to other members, and the committee is satisfied, the word is adopted (e.g., *fuwele* 'crystal' < Kizigua, 'a soft, breakable stone', or *ikulu* 'statehouse' < Kinyamwezi/Kisukuma). Much the same procedure applies to the use of non-Tanzanian African languages as a source for vocabulary expansion. In this case, as there are few non-Tanzanian Africans present during the vocabulary expansion process, few words from other African languages are adopted.(6)

English is clearly the first non-African foreign language source from which vocabulary is borrowed. Arabic, an African language, and the main source for borrowing in the past, is now stated to be in the least preferred position; however, in practice which language acts as a source depends on the subject for which vocabulary is sought. The strength of English as a source, for example, is felt most in technical fields, while Arabic words are more often used in the humanities. Thus, of the 121 borrowed words in the list of 349 biology terms (BAKITA, 1980), all are from English. In contrast, in a list of 243 literature terms (BAKITA, forthcoming) only five are borrowed from English while perhaps half are words of Arabic origin, most of which are semantic and/or morphological extensions of nativized words. This difference, of course, reflects the dynamics of the contact situation in which Swahili finds itself:

English, as the medium of higher education, is the language of the technical registers. On the other hand, since Arabic has contributed for a long time to the development of Swahili culture, it is not surprising that words needed for a register of literary criticism should come from the Arabic part of the Swahili lexicon or from Arabic itself.

In addition to specifying the source from which vocabulary expansion may draw, BAKITA also attempts to control the structure of the words and their integration into the grammatical system of the language. Guidance in the first task is achieved by prescribing rules for the nativization of borrowed words. The department of standardization has a policy of nativization of borrowed words which states that all words, except names of individuals, will be modified phonologically to conform to the sound system of Swahili by the addition of a final vowel for words which are consonant final in the source language, and by the insertion of vowels to break up impermissible consonant clusters (Irira, 1983). Overly long words, created by compounding, are also discouraged.

As a result of these guidelines, words ending in *m* have a *u* added: sodium-sodiamu, ileum-ilamu, calcium-kalisiamu. Words ending in other consonants have an *i* added: protein-protini, auricle-orikali, cellulose-sellulosi. Vowels are introduced word-internally in a number of cases to break up consonant clusters which are not permitted in Swahili. So calcium is rendered as kalisiamu and cytoplasm as sitoplazimu. In other cases, consonant clusters are simplified by the deletion of one or more of the members: organ-ogani, artery-ateri, thermometer-themometa, metabolism-metaboli. As these examples show, vowel phonemes may also be modified in the process of nativization in order to make them conform more closely to the Swahili sound system although no guidelines for these modifications are provided by BAKITA.

Unfortunately it is not always possible in the standardization process to apply these criteria regularly and rigidly, because members of the standardization committee and the Baraza are also guided by general, abstract principles about the ideal nature of the vocabulary which they are creating. These, sometimes

contradictory, principles include consistency, transparency, precision, cultural synchronicity and intertranslatability. Consistency is an oft-stated goal as committee members call for terms to be created following particular morphological patterns. Thus committee members objected to the contraction of phrases into single words as a method for vocabulary expansion (e.g., *kiuavijasumu*) because no regular pattern, such as retaining only the first syllable in the word, would produce acceptable terms. In another statement of the need for consistency, MacWilliam, a researcher at the Institute of Kiswahili Research, suggests that a single Swahili morpheme be used for all occurrences of a particular Latin or Greek affix in the preparation of technical terminology (MacWilliam, 1983). MacWilliam notes that the affix *iso-*, for example, is rendered inconsistently in Swahili as *iso*, *aiso*, or by the Swahili word *sawa* "equal." She proposes that one of these alternatives be approved by BAKITA and used whenever translations are sought for terms containing the affix *iso-*. Mdee (1983) also calls for consistency in BAKITA's adaptation of loanwords to the phonological system of Swahili.

Committee members also express the belief that words and terms should be transparent, that is, that the meaning of the whole should be readily deducible from the parts. This principle implies that, for most Tanzanian audiences, words and terms should be created by morphological derivation or compounding on existing Swahili roots. This principle, therefore, militates against the contraction of Swahili phrases into opaque words, or the wholesale borrowing from other languages. Vocabulary expansion by semantic extension is also not favored as it is thought that users will not be able to distinguish the "new" or technical use of a word from its common use and will, as a result, not realize when a word is used in its technical sense.

The principle of transparency, however, often contradicts another principle, precision. Members of the standardization committee and the Baraza feel that coined terms must accurately reflect the concept which they represent and be satisfactory for specialists in the field. This principle, unlike that of transparency, favors

borrowing of terms, particularly from the languages in which the concepts were first learned by current practitioners (usually English). In a move towards more precise terminology, several terms based on Swahili roots which had been approved earlier and were in common use were replaced by nativized English loans. Thus, wanga "starch" and hamirojo, formed from a contraction of hamira "yeast" and rojo "starchy gravy," both of which were used as equivalents for "carbohydrate," were replaced by the nativized English loan, kabohaidreti.

In preparation of terminology for technical subjects, the goal of precision often implies the nativization of loan words, a trend which runs counter to the principle of cultural synchronicity. Tanzanians are well aware of the unifying force and symbolic significance of their national language. Elaboration of vocabulary in Swahili is seen as a patriotic contribution to the development of the nation. In this context, therefore, it is not surprising that a number of members of the standardization committee and the Baraza as a whole stress the necessity of using Swahili roots as the basis for vocabulary expansion in order to preserve the national character of the language. At the same time, however, other Tanzanians who feel strongly the need to preserve intertranslatability in the language of science and technology, advocate the use of English or internationally recognized standard roots as a basis for vocabulary expansion, particularly in the technical registers.

The contradictions between these principles are part of the dynamics of the vocabulary expansion process and, in part, explain why rigid guidelines for the preparation of vocabulary are difficult to formulate and impossible to follow. However, a number of the contradictions could be resolved if vocabulary were prepared with specific audiences of potential users in mind. That is, while the principles of cultural synchronicity and transparency are important when formulating guidelines for the preparation of vocabulary for use in lower primary school and in adult literacy and literacy maintenance, the principles of precision and intertranslatability are more important for upper-primary school and primary teacher training. Awareness of the different needs of different audiences,

and hence the use of different guidelines for preparation of vocabulary appropriate to each, would enable BAKITA to produce a more consistent, acceptable product.

Procedures for Vocabulary Expansion

While some translations of vocabulary are prepared by BAKITA employees, most are the result of a joint effort by subject area specialists, who are the users of the vocabulary, and BAKITA, via the language standardization department/committee. Subject specialists such as curriculum developers, textbook authors and teachers translate the words which they need. These words are then brought to BAKITA where they are scrutinized according to the guidelines prepared by the language standardization department. After this, the words are discussed by the language standardization committee in one of its semi-annual meetings. These meetings, which last for ten days to two weeks, are held in various regional towns. Participants include the head of the language standardization department in the role of secretary, delegates of the Baraza, as well as members of the public such as school teachers from the area in which the meeting is held. The meeting is conducted by one of the delegates who is selected by the voting members present. Although such a large and varied panel may be unwieldy, it provides public input into the vocabulary expansion process which helps standard Swahili achieve a national character, and leads to its acceptance.(7)

The process by which the words are accepted as standard Swahili is often time-consuming. Each word is discussed separately, and the concept on which it is based is elucidated. Competing words and their reasons for rejection are mentioned as are related words which have already been standardized. If specialists in the subject are present, who may be the authors of the words, they are asked to explain the concept for which the word is sought and the rationale for the proposed choice. All participants in the meeting are free to voice their objections and propose alternatives. Decisions on whether to adopt words are not usually postponed and discussion continues until a consensus is reached.

The discussion preceding the adoption of the word ngaha "accessories" is illustrative of the procedure followed by the committee on standardization. The original word proposed by the literature department of the Institute of Kiswahili Research, who prepared the list of terms for the field of literary criticism, was visovasi, a contraction of the phrase vitu ambavyo si vazi "things which are not clothes," with reference to theatrical properties used by actors to enhance their costumes but which are not the actual costume/clothes. Delegates objected to visovasi on the grounds that it implies "things which are not worn," since the verb from which the noun vazi "clothes" is derived, kuvaa, "to wear, put on" is also the root for the last part of the phrase yasi. Delegates also recalled that there are a number of other Swahili words whose meanings could be extended to the concept of accessories: kingaja "bracelet," vifuasi "accessories" (accepted previously as the standard translation in the field of home economics), and ngaha "traditional adornments." The latter word is of Kinyaturu origin and refers to skins and body paint worn by performers at traditional drum and dance festivals (ngoma). Delegates felt that the concept of accessories in the theater was sufficiently different from that in the area of home economics that they rejected the previously adopted word vifuasi. They also felt that kingaja, as an item of female adornment only, was too narrow in meaning and would require too much semantic extension. Finally, the word ngaha was adopted since it refers to accessories. The fact that its use is in the context of traditional performing arts, rather than modern, is symbolic of the mixture of traditional and modern cultures which characterizes contemporary Tanzania.(8)

BAKITA'S Effectiveness

BAKITA disseminates its decisions through its publications and weekly radio program. The pamphlets of official translations, Tafsiri Sanifu are sent to the relevant offices in the ministries, to schools and colleges, to the publishing houses and to the bookshops for sale to the general public. It is expected that those who are

using Swahili in an official capacity, either in government or education, will refer to the lists for their vocabulary needs. However, in actual fact, BAKITA's terms are not widely used. Several evaluative studies show that the terms are used most among the educated, urban, wage-earning sector while indications are that the general public may not be aware of the existence of BAKITA (Ohly, 1982; Mdee, 1980). Specialists find that the terms lack clarity and do not exist in sufficient quantities to meet their needs. On the other hand, those who communicate with Tanzanians who have little or no formal schooling find the terms to be too technical, raising the complaint that contemporary Standard Swahili is too hard. Perhaps the most faithful users of the new vocabulary are those who participate in the creation of the lists of words themselves, particularly if their purpose in preparing the words was to enable them to write textbooks which would be accepted for use in the schools.

While a certain amount of resistance to the new terms is to be expected, both from the specialist and from the layman, the form in which the new vocabulary is disseminated, as well as breakdowns in the channels of dissemination contribute to the problems which BAKITA encounters in implementing the use of their product. Simple lists of translational equivalents are not sufficient to enable most users to understand precisely what concepts the terms label. Furthermore, since most of the lists are alphabetized according to the English equivalent, their use is limited to those with knowledge of English. The monolingual Swahili dictionary is a general dictionary and does not include most of BAKITA's terms.

Dissemination of the terms also encounters problems on the basic physical level. Although an office in a ministry may receive a copy of the official list of translations, there is no assurance that the list will reach the actual users. Most offices lack the machines and materials to reproduce the portions of the lists relevant to their activities as was originally expected. In other cases, the publications of BAKITA do not make it through the channels and thus never reach the hands of the intended users.

Perhaps the most fundamental problem which limits BAKITA's effectiveness is the view of the vocabulary expansion process which implicitly informs the organization's activities. At BAKITA lexical elaboration is seen as the adding of words to the language. Despite the fact that the words to be standardized are often brought to BAKITA by the potential users, who are specialists in the subject area, BAKITA does not conduct a "needs analysis" to determine the characteristics of the users. At the same time, although subject specialists are involved in preparing lists of Swahili equivalents for English terms, BAKITA does not require these specialists to outline the concepts and their interrelationship so that related concepts will be labeled by terms which reflect this interrelationship. Furthermore, no distinction is made between the levels of technicality at which the same subject may be handled, a difference which might be reflected in the vocabulary to be created. As a result of this approach, concepts are assigned labels without attempting to preserve their interrelationship, thereby producing inconsistencies, while terms are adopted without considering the level of technicality at which a given audience conceptualizes, producing terms which are "too hard" for general use but which appear "fuzzy" to the specialist.

One way to improve the success of BAKITA's efforts would be to adopt a model for vocabulary planning such as that proposed by Marshad for the development of Swahili technical terminology in Kenya (Marshad, 1984). According to this model, vocabulary expansion would proceed on two levels simultaneously. Terms for the more technical levels would be adapted to the sound and spelling system of Swahili (following specified guidelines for nativization) from English or from an international standard. At the less technical levels, such as primary education, where little or no knowledge of English is assumed, terms would be coined from Swahili roots, following guidelines in order to insure that the relationship of concepts would be reflected through repetition of roots and affixes. While Marshad's model could not be adopted wholesale in Tanzania, where, unlike Kenya, English is not used as the medium of instruction

until secondary school level, it is offered here as an illustration of the type of refinement of the vocabulary expansion process that a model permits.

Such a model assists planners in distinguishing the purpose for which their product is used, e.g., primary school, high school, adult education, etc., and thus lets them better gauge their intended audience. The model would provide a framework for the semantic and lexicological analysis of the relation of concepts to each other and to the terms which label them. The model also takes into consideration the needs of the society and the allocation of languages in the verbal repertoire (e.g., transitional educational bilingualism). Once such a model is formulated, guidelines can be proposed for vocabulary expansion for each audience. As experience has shown in Israel, guidelines need to be formulated both for the general vocabulary expansion process and for the specific subject area and audience at hand (Fellman and Fishman, 1977).

Until recently the lack of a clearly stated educational language policy in Tanzania made the formulation of a model for vocabulary expansion impossible. That is, without knowing when or if Swahili would be implemented as the medium of secondary education, planners did not know who the users of their terms would be. Now that the policy has been clarified and it is well known that Swahili will not be used as the medium of most post-primary education, BAKITA can focus its efforts on terms suitable for a primary school audience and for recent adult literates. Within a model of vocabulary expansion, this would involve determining, in conjunction with subject area specialists who deal with these audiences, the level of technicality as well as the concepts to be taught at this level. Guidelines for the preparation of vocabulary could then be written with the needs of these audiences in mind. Closer cooperation with individuals in education, publishing and the media who would be in a position to disseminate the terms would help to insure their exposure. The publication of monolingual subject (classified) glossaries might also be an effective means of disseminating the new vocabulary.

Vocabulary expansion efforts in Tanzania, and in the Swahili speaking world in general, would also benefit greatly from the documentation of the terminological efforts to date that would be provided by a term bank such as that which is in the pilot stages at the Institute of Kiswahili Research (Tumbo-Masabo, 1983). At present, much of the rationale used for adopting various terms resides in the memories of the employees of BAKITA. A term bank would allow for the recording of terms as well as the guidelines which motivated their adoption. At the same time, the term bank, if organized according to international classification principles as suggested by Tumbo-Masabo, would allow planners to delimit the fields better for which terms are being created. If the bank were further organized according to concepts within each field, with terms filed according to the concept each labels, competing terms could easily be compared and lexical gaps identified. Eventually it is hoped that BAKITA and/or the Institute of Kiswahili Research would use a micro-computer for storage and manipulation of the term bank.

It is unreasonable, however, to expect BAKITA to implement these suggestions on its own. The low operating budget and the low level of expertise of its academic employees seriously impede the organization's effectiveness. Without adequate support, both in terms of financing and training, BAKITA cannot command the authority with which it is legally invested. It remains to be seen whether, under the new educational language policy, BAKITA will be able to redirect vocabulary expansion in Swahili to serve the needs of those users identified by the policy. Tanzania is in the leading position in the modernization of Swahili, and there is much enthusiasm and experience at BAKITA, the Institute of Kiswahili Research, the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salaam, as well as among members of the general public for the expanded use of the language. The realization of Swahili's full potential depends to a large extent upon firm policy backing.*

NOTES

- 1) The research on which this paper is based was conducted in Dar es Salaam while I was a Research Associate in the Department of Kiswahili from August, 1983 to June, 1984. My sincere thanks are due to the employees of BAKITA who graciously welcomed me in their offices and at their meetings, as well as to the Institute for Kiswahili Research. My appreciation also extends to Z. M. Mochiwa from whose comments I have benefited immensely. The research was funded by a Fulbright Grant for Graduate Study.
- 2) The label Swahili, however, masks the dialect variation which exists in the language. A number of dialects of Swahili are spoken as native languages in settlements along the coast and on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Monolingual speakers of Swahili are also found in urban areas of the mainland. The majority of Swahili speakers are bilingual speakers of the language.
- 3) Tanganyika was colonized by Germany from the late nineteenth century until World War I. Britain then controlled the colony until its independence in 1960. Zanzibar remained an independent sultanate until the revolution in 1964. Later that year Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania. In 1975 the separate governments of Zanzibar and the mainland were united under the supremacy of the political party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi.
- 4) 1967 was a landmark year in the establishment of Tanzania's socialist orientation towards political, economic and social development with the publication by President Julius Nyerere of the Arusha Declaration.
- 5) 'Akizungumza lugha ya Kiingereza nchini, Mwalimu alisema kuwa Kiingereza ndicho Kiswahili cha dunia na kwa sababu hiyo hakina budi kufundishwa nchini na kupewa uzito unaostahili. "Kiingereza ni Kiswahili cha Dunia. Ni makosa kukiachia Kiingereza kikafa. Kukiachia ni ujinga siyo uzalendo," alisema. Mwalimu aliwataka Watanzania kung'ang'ania Kiingereza na Kiswahili na kuongeza kwamba kitakuwa ndiyo lugha ya kufundishia katika shule za Sekondari no Vyuo vya juu kwa sababu

kikiachwa kama somo la kawaida kinaweza kufa.' Mzalendo, October 28, 1984.

6) For example, rara 'ballad' which comes from Yoruba and was adopted at the November, 1983 meeting of the language standardization committee at the suggestion of a Yoruba-speaking Nigerian graduate student in the Department of Swahili at the University of Dar es Salaam who was observing the proceedings.

7) The November, 1983 meeting of the standardization committee had approximately 35-40 participants including delegates, employees of BAKITA and guests. The August, 1982 meeting had 20 delegates alone.

8) These observations were made at the November, 1983 meeting of the standardization committee which was held in Iringa, Tanzania.

* This study was read in a revised form at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference (1985) and also published in Studies in the Linguistic Sciences, 15(Spring 1985). We thank the author for her permission to include it in this volume.

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**TRANSLATION APPLICATIONS
FOR WORD PROCESSORS
AT THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Amy Krinsky
U.S. Department of State

First, let me explain a bit about the Language Services Office as a whole and what we do. Our twenty-one translators prepare official translations, compare and certify international agreements, and screen and summarize some of the President's foreign correspondence. Our twenty interpreters travel the world with the President and Secretary of State, furnishing spoken translation services. Our three conference reporters make a verbatim record of all official public pronouncements on foreign policy.

Our Translating Division provides translations into English from over sixty languages, including the Western European, Slavic, and Asian languages, and from English into those languages. The translators face a new challenge with practically every document: new concepts to explore, new terminology to find, new subjects to learn, new handwriting to decipher. Gone are the days when a diplomatic translator might see only letters of credence, "great and good friend" correspondence, and the occasional protest note. A glance at any day's incoming log will show routine diplomatic notes, but also a boundary treaty, aviation agreements, extradition documents, livestock survey, autopsy report, customs tariff schedule, legal opinion, assassination threat, tax convention, in short, material covering the many subjects with which contemporary diplomacy is involved. In 1976, in a magazine article, one of our linguists noted that the typewriter was the only physical innovation in the practice of translation since the ballpoint pen replaced the quill. In 1984, however, translation in the Division moved into a new era with the arrival of the word processor. (In 1979, we had acquired a considerably less sophisticated system which helped typists but did not change the translator's task.)

The various stages through which a document passes from the time it arrives in our office until it is returned

to the requester have not changed. When documents arrive, they are logged, assessed by a supervisory reviewer and assigned to particular translators. The translators render the document in the required language, the reviewers check their work for substantive and stylistic errors, and the typists produce them in final form. All jobs are recorded in a log for future reference.

With word processing, however, at every level, the creative, administrative, and technical aspects of the work have become easier and mutually supportive. For example, the translator can concentrate on research and on rendering an accurate, elegant text rather than retyping numerous times a four-column list of radio broadcast channels in a treaty on frequency modulation. The reviewer can concentrate on rendering the best possible text instead of making the most convenient revisions. The typist can concentrate on making the final version letter-perfect instead of searching through mounds of paper to ensure that every instance of "marine" has been changed to "maritime" in a document on fisheries.

The word processor helps the requester as well, not only because it helps us deliver the job faster, but because we can provide it in a form that can be easily revised. By furnishing the job on a computer diskette, the Translating Division facilitates any further revision and reformatting that the customer wishes to make.

One of our translators described the difference between working on a typewriter and on a word processor as the difference between "walking from Washington to California and driving there in a Cadillac." The ease with which editing functions are performed frees the translator's mind to linger over a difficult passage, and after all, that is what the art of translation is all about--determining the best from among the many different ways to say things. Our translators generally agree that with the word processor, they spend less time thinking before composing, but more time thinking during and after composing, and that they now have the luxury of performing purely stylistic refinements they may have foregone during the "bad old days" of typewriters when making revisions was so cumbersome. Furthermore, with the word processor, they can easily flip back to earlier

paragraphs in their translations, or search for phrases they worked on pages before, and thus get a clearer picture of the whole translation at any point in the process.

In several respects, the word processor has revolutionized operations in the administrative sphere, too. It automatically provides a detailed log of jobs, showing all pertinent information, such as the date the job was begun and completed, the names of the translator and requester, the control number, and the diskette on which the job is filed. It allows a supervisor to divide a long job among several translators, because their communicating workstations allow them to view each other's work throughout the job, and the "Supercopy" function puts the separate texts together when they have finished.

Furthermore, the volume and capacity of our work, as well as the number of languages involved are beyond the capabilities of our staff, which means that the Division has to rely on the assistance of hundreds of contractors. The word processor's "List processing" function enables assigning personnel to keep track of these contractors and quickly obtain a listing by language, geographical area, or some other variable. In addition, administrative tasks less directly related to translation, like the drafting of office correspondence and reports, can be done at the same wordprocessor's workstation as our other work.

Word processing has had a great impact on the technical aspect of our work as well. For example, the "Search," "Supercopy," and "Glossary" functions alone save us untold hours and rescue us from eyestrain. For the past two or three years, my section has been receiving different versions of a 70 page treaty. We have the first version and each subsequent version filed on the word processor's diskettes. When we receive a new draft of the treaty, we retrieve the previous versions from diskettes and perform an electronic search of key words to find portions that may have been translated in the past. We supercopy these sections into a new document and translate the new material in that document. Before we had the processor, we would have to search through

several long documents and try to match up text and then retype the entire 70 pages.

The function of glossaries, which is the processor's word for mini-programs, enables us to generate on the screen the forms used to summarize routine diplomatic notes. The "Supercopy" and "Glossary" functions allow us to complete work quickly on a few kinds of form letters which we routinely receive for translation. Glossaries also allow us to touch two keys instead of twenty-six (including the shift-key) to enter a long name like Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, which can appear many times in a single document. Summary translation of letters to the White House, which used to be done on forms with carbon paper, can now be drafted directly on the processor for easy revision. Texts for in-house distribution can now be converted to cable (optical character reader --OCR) texts with just two keystrokes.

Although the word processor has helped us streamline operations, it has failed to solve some of our problems. For instance, we are still seeking to obtain an on-line dictionary which might be hooked up to the term bank used by an international organization or foreign government. Right now translators can keep some of their terminology in separate documents on the processor, which is advantageous because of the automated "Search" function, which allows them to find a specific term rapidly. Our system does not have the capacity to sustain very many of these documents, however, nor is there an automatic system for entering the information from our thousands of index cards. Furthermore, the processor cannot handle all the languages we need for our work.

Principally for these reasons, we recently purchased a second word processor system with four workstations. This computer's software is different from the first one in that it operates on the basis of "icons" and "windows" rather than "menus," and involves many more steps to perform most functions. It is also more expensive and takes up more space. However, the stand-alone memory capacity of each of its workstations is almost as big as our whole first system's, which is constantly in danger of becoming overloaded. With the second computer system, we may be able to install a terminology bank in our office

at some later date. Naturally, we also became interested in the second computer system because it handles exotic languages, like Chinese and Japanese. The fonts of the Laser printer hold 80,000 megabytes for Chinese alone, making it possible to print the thousands of characters that need to be reproduced in that language.

The producer of the second computer system originally placed emphasis on the output side of word processing: providing good printouts in many different formats, producing attractive correspondence, and publishing newsletters and even textbooks. The company entered the foreign language market late but is making progress on expanding its capabilities. Its system now handles 25 languages, as compared with about ten for the other, and the company has signed a contract with the Voice of America whereby it guarantees that the system will process 60 different languages within five years. In the process of trying to break into the foreign language market, the second company has been upgrading its software and seeking to tailor it to the needs of language specialists. It is developing a larger, nineteen inch screen that will make it possible to view two or more documents on a workstation simultaneously, and its customer-designed keyboards should be on the market in a few months.

As with new technology in any office, word processing may be viewed initially with mistrust and meet with some resistance in a translation unit. Although we have had little difficulty in this area, we are establishing an Office Automation Users Group to support users, help solve their problems, and heed their concerns. The Group will give users at all levels the opportunity to share information and add to their creative, administrative, and technical word-processing skills in the service of translation. We are convinced that the more our translators know about word processing, the easier it will be for them to concentrate on maintaining the quality of their work.

HUMAN INTERFACE WITH MACHINE TRANSLATION

Maureen Cote
Foreign Broadcast Information Service

How good is machine translation? The answer to that question lies in the answer to other questions, such as "How good does the translation need to be?" "Do you need infallibly accurate information or is the gist sufficient?" "Are you sufficiently knowledgeable in your subject area to spot obvious errors in the machine-translated text, or are you in the learning phase of your field and therefore less likely to spot errors?"

Machine translation is not as good as human translation (providing of course that the human translator is competent) and the usefulness of MT (machine translation) depends very much on the user's need for accuracy. At any rate, the consensus is no longer what it was in the 1960's when the Air Force was questioning the wisdom of continuing to pursue the development of machine translation. The question is now how to use machine translation appropriately.

Before we explore further the question of appropriate use of MT, I invite the audience to examine some samples of Russian MT and compare them with Human Translation (HT) in order to form an independent assessment of the clarity and accuracy of MT. The selections were translated on the Air Force's Systran MT system which contains over 400,000 Russian words and expressions and is divided into eleven dictionaries based on subject matter. These dictionaries are sequenced so that the computer will translate a text that concerns primarily mathematics by searching for words in the mathematics dictionary first and then defaulting to a general dictionary. The selections were not preselected in any way but were selected randomly from Pravda and translated by using the "journalism" dictionary.

The Air Force system can translate 100,000 to 200,000 words an hour--once the text is entered into the computer. If the foreign language text is not available on electronic disk (and it often is not), the foreign language material is entered into the computer by typists or by an optical character reader (OCR). Typing the material into

the computer is a time-consuming (not to mention boring) process, as is entering the material with the aid of an optical character reader. OCRs are successful in reading only 30% of the Russian text due to the poor quality of Soviet paper and type fonts. This input time must be calculated into any assessment of the speed of MT versus the speed of human translators; however, let us leave questions of speed aside to examine the **quality** of MT in comparison with HT.

The following are some samples of unedited (i.e., straight off the machine) Russian translation on Systran.

Sample I: Machine Translation

"The USSR Disrupts the Conditions of the Agreement"

"Washington, 23 Dec--President Reagena's Administration prepared detailed report about the disturbances/breakdowns by the Soviet Union of the conditions of the agreements OSV-1 (SOLT-1) and OSV-2 and directed it into the Congress.

"In the report they are brought examples of different disturbances/breakdowns it is noted that, inspite of the insignificant (sometimes) sizes/dimensions of these disturbances/breakdowns, they testify the general attitude of the USSR toward the undertaken obligations.

"President Reagen repeatedly it declared, that, inspite of expiration at the end of this year of the period of the action of agreement OSV-2, USA they will adhere to its conditions and subsequently, if are not confirmed the facts of the significant breaches of agreement on the part of the USSR.

"The great preoccupation of the Pentagon causes the fate of outlined in 1986 of tests submarines Trident with new type rockets, that exceeds the scope, permitted by agreement OSV-2. The agreement it does not have required force, since it, until now, is not ratified by Congress."

Sample 1: Human Translation

"The USSR Violates the Conditions of the Agreement"

"Washington, 23 Dec - President Reagan's Administration prepared a detailed report concerning the Soviet Union's violations of the conditions of SALT-1 and SALT-2 and sent the report to Congress.

"The report cited examples of various violations and noted that, despite the insignificant (taken separately) scope of these violations, they indicate the USSR's general attitude toward the obligations it has assumed.

"President Reagan has often stated that the US will continue to adhere to the conditions of SALT-2 despite the fact that the agreement expires at the end of this year, as long as no evidence of substantive violations by the Soviets is proven.

"The Pentagon is most deeply concerned about the fate of tests, scheduled for 1986, of the Trident submarines that carry a new type missile which exceeds the limits allowed by the SALT-2 treaty." (Taken from an article in the US Russian émigré press.)

Sample 2: MT

"Partner an architect-computer"

"Electronic computer helps to create architect

"So already it came out that the punched tape of computer(s) and the whatman of architect for all us 'became friends' practically unnoticeably, although fruits of this most useful symbiosis are already today sufficiently visual. The effectiveness of the association/unification of the efforts/forces of two Muzas--architectural and cybernetic--with each year exceeds even the most daring markings. In this confirms the visits of the Kiev zone scientific research and design institute of the standard and experimental design/projection of habitable and public buildings.

"Here is recently created the country's first department of architectural and construction cybernetics. It is formed/shaped united data bank about design and building documentation of hundreds of standard projects,

produced in the country. The volume of such information means, the level of the automation of planned works with every day they grow.

"The annual dynamics of their increase/growth-three or four percent, refines the assistant director of institute L. Dmitriev.

"Display class it neighbors with the enormous hall. In it--the computers, which carry out 1.5-2 million operations/processes in second.

Sample 2: HT

"The Architect's Partner - the Computer"

"Computer technology helps the architect to create

"Computer tape and architect's drafting paper appear to have become friends almost without our awareness--even though the results of this most useful symbiosis are evident everywhere. The effectiveness of uniting the strengths of the muses of Architecture and Computer Science exceeds the scope of the most daring outlines with each passing year. A visit to the regional Kiev Scientific Research and Drafting Institute for Standard and Experimental Design of Public Housing and Buildings convinces you of this. The first department of Computer Science for Architecture and Construction in the country was created here not long ago. A centralized data bank to hold design and construction documentation for hundreds of standard designs produced in the country is being set up. The quantity of such documentation, and consequently, the level of automation of design work is growing from day to day.

"Its annual increase is three to four percent," notes Deputy Director of the Institute L. I. Dmitriev.

"The demonstration room containing the terminals is next to a huge room." (From Pravda 1986.)

Samples like these are post-edited (referred to as "re-translation" by some linguists) to clean up some of the MT ambiguities and errors we have seen. But the problem with post-editing is that it can take longer than translating the article outright. A professional human translator can translate a minimum of 4,000 words a day.

Post-editors on Russian Systran edit an average of 2.1 pages an hour (approximately 4,000 words a day). If the post-editor glances at too many pages in the original, he or she can effectively wipe out the advantage of the speed of having the article translated by machine. On the other hand, post-editing without reference to the text can at times be dangerous to the accuracy of the translation because the post-editor can mask errors in the translation in the process of "editing" it, i.e., making it read smoothly. The reader, even a subject expert who is used to spotting anomalies in MT translations, may find it difficult to spot errors in this cosmetically improved MT. For this reason, many analysts prefer receiving the "raw" (not post-edited) MT.

The most effective MT systems have been those which process texts which contain a limited vocabulary (i.e., a limited subject area) and which are edited by a person knowledgeable both in the original foreign language (to spot errors in meaning stemming from the structural peculiarities of the original language) and the subject field (to spot nonsense statements and to choose the correct jargon (e.g., thermal vs. hot)).

To date, the two most successful MT systems in North America are the Canadian Secretary of State's Meteo system and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) Spanish-English and English-Spanish system located in PAHO's Washington D.C. office. Meteo is an MT system which automatically translates English weather forecasts into French. The system achieves 80% accuracy with statements on the level of "sunny today; flurries later in the evening" but was found to be too unreliable to handle long-range weather forecasts. According to the System's administrator Fernand Gobeil, the tendency of weather forecasters to wax poetic in these long-range weather texts caused more syntactical trouble than the computers could handle. Flights of fancy perplex the machines, which apparently have not yet developed the ability to appreciate a "rosy-fingered dawn."

The Pan American Health Organization has developed a Spanish-English and an English-Spanish MT system, which is used to translate health-related texts. By confining the texts to a limited subject (the health field)

PAHO has managed to limit the number of errors the machine makes in choosing the right word. In addition, PAHO has developed special function keys on their word processors to facilitate editing the errors that commonly occur in translating from Spanish to English. These keys substantially speed the editing process. According to Muriel Vasconcellos, who has guided the MT system through its development, a skilled translator can post-edit 10,000 words a day of machine-translated Spanish. However, Muriel insists that only skilled translators at PAHO are allowed to post-edit material because only the most experienced translators can spot the kinds of errors that computers are liable to make.

The Russians are developing three machine translation systems from English, French and German into Russian. The first system, called AMPAR (for Automated Machine Translation from English into Russian) translates computer technology texts. The FRAP system (French) translates electrical engineering texts, and the NERPA system (German) translates computer technology texts. Again, the principle of limiting the MT to one subject field allows better quality in the finished translation.

Many worldwide commercial firms are marketing MT systems for office use. LOGOS markets a German to English system. The FBI has purchased the Weidner system, which translates Spanish, French and German on an IBM personal computer. The trouble with these systems is that the users must build the dictionaries. The key to better MT is large, specialized dictionaries, but dictionary-building is a painstaking, prolonged and expensive activity. In addition to building the dictionary itself, translators who use these small office systems must type in grammatical information for each new dictionary word they enter so that the computer will know how to fit the new word into its existent algorithm for translating text. If this sort of entry is not done well, the quality of translation done by the computer markedly declines.

Conclusion

At the current state of its development, MT works best when: 1) the text to be translated is confined to a limited subject area, 2) the post-editor is a skilled translator, 3) the post-editor is knowledgeable in the subject being translated, 4) the computer dictionary is large, 5) the material to be input is already in electronic form, and 6) the need for accuracy is not great.

The translation demands on the United States government span such a spectrum of fields that the necessary large dictionaries pertaining to each subject field are difficult to develop. However, if the volume of translation in a specific field is high enough, the investment in time to build the necessary dictionary size can be worth the trouble.

THE STUDY AND PROGRAMMING OF THE LINGUISTIC "FORMANTS" AS BASIS FOR THE TERMINOLOGY NORM

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History

The study of the scientific and technical terminology has been the most important goal of my linguistic research throughout the last decade. This article is a synthesis of the results of my experiences and the very radical changes which have taken place with respect to the possibility of achieving a scientific terminology in Spanish. But before going into the main subject of the "formants" it might be interesting to make a quick summary of the results obtained up to now.

In 1963 at the Congress "Presente y Futuro de la Lengua Española," at my instigation the "Oficina Internacional de Información y Difusión del Español" was created. As it is literally stated in the Minutes of the above mentioned Congress, this office was created as "a kind of linguistic observatory, an advance point of the Academy to today's Spanish, and (it was created) in view of the large quantity of new words which was calling for an urgent solution." As a goal of active cooperation by OFINES a Commission of Urgency was created which would have as a "principal mission to collect, through surveys in the different Hispanic areas, the new terms of technical meaning, or those created to name new ways of life, and to inform and advise on the use of those terms most suitable for use in each particular case."

During my term as Director of OFINES, the Haut Comité pour la défense et l'expansion de la langue française proposed the creation of a Center for Romance terminology which would be constituted by official departments representing the Romance languages.

In those days, the Ruling Council of OFINES had meetings in which five members of the Spanish Royal Academy participated. Dr. Rafael Lapesa, in the name of all the academicians, opposed the project on the basis that the subject of terminology was an exclusive field to be worked on by the Academy. In spite of this opposition

the initiative progressed, and the following year two congresses took place, one in Barcelona and another one in Florence Italy, in which Portugal, Italy and Roumania became additional participants. Notwithstanding the project, "Fitro" needed to be financed. The necessary funds, unfortunately were not available and the project had to be discontinued.

The project's principal objective, as its title indicated, had been the study of the new terminology based on the common source of Greek-Latin roots for the creation of new scientific terminology. This was considered a valuable idea and an open door to real achievements. However, it had a negative side: It was conceived as a defensive position. It implied a purpose to present a unified front of the Romance countries to the growing invasion of the Anglicisms. A nationalistic attitude began to dominate the problem of scientific terminology.

But the interest in a new scientific terminology continued to flourish in France where several centers of terminological studies, as AFTERM later changed to FRANTERM, were created, likewise in Spain, where under the auspices of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (C.S.I.C.) there sprang a new organization, HISPANOTERM, which was linked to the central office of the UNESCO, INFOTERM, and to the French office devoted to the same purpose.

At any rate, the seed of interest in the terminological studies was already sprouting where it had been absent from the university curricula, from researchers, as well as from the Spanish official centers. The following year, a program for the study of the scientific and technical terminology was organized at the C.S.I.C. in which up to sixteen different technical teams collaborated with linguistic groups, such as that from the Instituto Miguel de Cervantes and the Instituto Nebrija.

With the intention of taking advantage of the organization of the C.S.I.C., in which several institutes of linguistics, the sciences and documentation are integrated, it was suggested that there be cooperation among those who were interested in terminological information. The program started with fourteen cooperating centers,

through the coordination of the Instituto Cervantes de Filología Hispánica, with its principal collaborators, the Instituto Nebrija de Lenguas Clásicas and the Instituto de Información y Documentación en Ciencia y Tecnología.

A program was established through a three year period whose objectives were: a) information and coordination in the scientific and technical terminology, b) translation and application of the Anglo-Saxon terminology to Spanish, c) cooperation with the international organizations on terminology, d) normalization of the Spanish and Spanish-American terminology, e) promotion of terminologic methodology, and f) training of terminologists, g) automatic translation, and h) publication of the information within and outside the C.S.I.C.

This project was approved, and worked for a year and a half under the aegis of the Secretary of Education. Nevertheless, two years later, the Ministry suspended all programs of collaboration with the Instituto Cervantes, and since then, HISPANOTERM has been working as a private non-profit institution.

At the end of this long road of our experience, the results are some of the following:

In the first place, there is a small remnant in Spain of the terminological program. The difficulties of coordinating the official institutions and the private organizations involved are almost insurmountable. Positive results for a program of terminological research depend mainly on the availability of funds, of time, and of trained specialists. The current two year programs only allow for a beginning in what needs to be a long and arduous undertaking.

Another great difficulty consists in building a bridge for collaboration between Spanish and Spanish-American groups which have already started their activity in Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela. Presently, contacts are restricted either to correspondence or to sporadic meetings at best. The cooperation between the large international organizations, as INFOTERM, is much more effective, probably due to their better professional stability and financial resources.

Terminology Databank

Recording and programming the terminological information in a databank today does not constitute any serious problem, particularly in view of the large lexicographic data which have already been accumulated. But this material is branded with a historical perspective, and holds only a superficial interest in the construction of a system for the future, without establishing norms for the creation of future terminology, nor establishing norms for the creation of neologisms. This traditional method does not pay attention to the different components of a modern language with a selection of the "formants" in the basic languages, which will allow for a standard scientific communication. The organization around large international corporations, INFOTERM, CCEE, SIEMENS, QUEBEC, etc., permits the expected creation in the near future of a large universal terminology databank which will be able to collect the international terms (i.e., the globolect) of the most advanced megalanguages.

In spite of the great help that a computerized treatment of an immense volume of documentation of international terms may suppose, there is a risk taken in a linguistic community that is as big and complex as is the Spanish one. The threat of multiplication into an infinite variety of word lists, of neologisms, created under irregular criteria by centers without a methodological coordination, may drive, and in fact is driving, the scientific terminology into chaos. Limited publications and restricted issues of lists and catalogues of scientific terms are proving insufficient in producing positive results that are needed on the international level.

The purpose of organizing large international data centers could, nevertheless, hamper many national initiatives, and could also lead to establishing false or erroneous scientific terms devoid of connection with the real language.

For several years now, the CCEE language data in Spanish has been provided by the Colegio de Mexico. Aside from the fact that a European Community substitutes Spain with Mexico, there also appears the fact that the Spanish scientific terminology will also

experience a displacement toward American, rather than European usage.

International Standardization

From 1967 to 1973 the International Standardization Office (ISO) distributed its "recommendations" on terminology. Its basic idea, which is repeated in the Introduction to its recommendations, number 629, 704, 860, 919, 1807, 1149, and 1951 is as follows: "(There is a need for) cooperation by the experts, not only at national levels but also international levels, and there is a need to depend on technical terms holding the same universal semantic meanings." The norms and recommendations by ISO signified a profound change, which in the attitude towards terminology still utilizes the traditional linguistics, with the same or similar concepts of morphology, phonetics and orthography. The principal aim remains that of creating a new technical language with world-wide validity. In spite of efforts to the contrary, the borderline between the free exercise of concepts, and linguistic and historical standardization continues to be mutually disregarded.

From the ISO recommendations on terminology and its relation to the "formants," I would like to emphasize some particular aspects: In its first recommendation in 1967, ISO established four categories: suggestions on vocabulary and principles of its elaboration, standardization of notions, terms and definitions; principles of formation and values based on "value" criteria. (These latter, although not completely developed, are of interest to the subject of the "formants.") Lastly, instructions are given for the vocabulary description.

In the recommendation, number 704 (Principles of Denomination) two ideas are proposed: 1) the linguistic economics, as the principal terminological necessity, and 2) the desirability to use the technical forms already established without unnecessary changes. It presents three French efforts to substitute French terms for the English: "bypass-~~derivation~~, ~~dope-additif~~, speaker-~~presentateur~~." (In the Spanish usage there is no doubt a

preference for those terms with English roots from which they could even produce derivatives. This happens with "dope" from which is derived "dopar", "dopado" and "doping". The use of "bypass" is also preferred in medicine. Concerning the word "speaker", Spaniards more commonly use the word "presentador.")

Also the ISO recommendations take note concerning the danger of composing terms via bad or wrongly chosen components. This is a danger always faced by the "neologist" scientists who are merely amateurs in the terminological field, and who are not generally aware of the possibilities of linguistic creativity.

Another recommendation (still without norms) is that which refers to the so-called "transferred terms" (those taken from the common language) under the condition that their thematic field should be far enough removed so as not to induce ambiguity. Preference for etymological orthography over the phonetic one is also a subject in these recommendations. Attention is called to the fact that in Portuguese, as well as in Spanish, there is the tendency to adapt the technical forms to the standard national orthography. Without question, the cooperation between linguists and normalizers would be very positive, where a final synthesis would result from the growing presence of terminologists.

Towards a Dictionary of Formants

The formants: roots, affixes, prefixes, infixes, suffixes and the derivational and compositional procedures, though not appearing in dictionaries of general usage, have always been present at the foundations of neologisms. As a whole, they are the basic mechanisms for terminologic creation. But in the same way that a databank is not the same as a traditional dictionary, neither a bank of terminological formants is the same as general terminology. Its aim is directed more to the future than to the collection of already existing terms.

To achieve a "dictionary of formants" it is necessary to survey the present situation on the subject using the following data as a base:

1. A classification of the formants according to their origin.
2. Frequency, according to the large thematic areas.
3. Frequency, according to the regional areas.
4. Surveying first the present condition of the formants, particularly those of Spanish origin.
5. Semantic specialization.
6. Procedures and possibilities of composition.
7. Derivative capacity.

The results of these surveys will allow the accumulation of a repertory of possible formants based on their activity and characteristics.

The traditional formants in Spanish of Latin origin are without question the basic source, not only for the Spanish language, but also for any other Occidental language in the field of terminology. Next to them, are those that come from Greek, English, and to a lesser extent, from the Romance languages. Also, though with a restricted use in Spanish, there are the formants of Iberian and Arabic languages. Those from other origins are only accidental.

The scientific terminology must be by its nature of international value. Because of this, it is necessary to find an approach, a selection of those formants which are more or less coincidental in the megalanguages. This is the great opportunity for the Greek-Latin languages to become more alive once again.

In the long process, which the scientific language has taken, there appears a preference for Greek terms over Latin ones. This becomes absolutely stunning in areas such as chemistry, electronics, and physics.

The formants of Greek origin have many advantages over Latin in regard to the scientific terminology: they have almost no incidence of past usage in the common language, thus allowing for the formation of univalent terms; they are very systematic and allow for a specialization by scientific areas, as happens in chemistry which has a special committee for nomenclature of international proportions and usage.

Moreover, the Greek system for composition and word formation allows for great semantic precision with values which cover a wide span: from philosophical concepts, as being (-onto), appearance (-pseudo), its own or foreign (-auto, -hetero), absence (-an), normal (-orto), relationship (-anti), hierarchy (-arch), space (-peril), near and far (-dia, -eke), time (-paleo), the material world (-geo), the universe (-astro), the Earth (-oro), the physical materials (-sider), form (-morfo), the human body (-som), illness (-pat), animals (-zo), plants (-rizo), man and society (-antropo, -demo), etc.

The concurrence of the Greek and Latin "formants" is a very interesting phenomenon in this future international aspect of language which is coming upon us.

Ambiguity and possible misinterpretation are semantic questions of considerable importance in the field of terminology, involving selection risks which are increased when the technical language tries to take advantage of the common language. Also in this field, it is important to consider the different degrees of semantic coincidence which may have many intervening elements in word formation.

Keeping apart the common language from the scientific one permits an intermediate zone, better said, it forces one into an intermediate zone.⁽¹⁾ Terms created artificially for scientific purposes, in a more or less restricted number, end up in the common language, and consequently become subject to the rules of each of the languages into which these more or less artificial or exotic terms are introduced.

Derivation and its natural possibilities constitutes another great subject particularly in the selection of the most adequate roots for scientific neologisms. Together with the semantic value and its degree of universality, it is interesting to test the limitations of its morphological and syntactical limitations, that is to say, its capacity to form not only infinitives but gerunds as well, and different types of verbal inflections, adjectives, adverbs, etc. If we take as an example the word automatic, we should automatically be able to derive in Spanish automatizable, but we should start hesitating with automatizamiento, "automation," not to mention

automatizando, "automatizing." The possibilities for derivation from a particular root, or from a new term, constitute an important factor in its capacity for composition. All of this can be easily programmed.

The Researchers

The creation of scientific neologisms has been, in many cases, the responsibility of the scientists themselves. The criteria for the creation of scientific terms differ, and scientists pay little or no systematic attention to the possibilities of derivation according to linguistic structures. The main advantage in neologisms consists in their universality, the use of particular terms primarily within the global international scientific field.

Abbreviations, generally taken from English, may have their origin in the initial syllables: radar (radio, ranging); or in the first and the last syllable; quasar (quasi-stellar), pulsar (pulsating star).

In the rapid advances of knowledge dealing with Nature's elements, discoverers have been honored through terminology: curio (from Curie), fermio (from Fermi), kurchatovio (from Kurchatov), einsteinio (from Einstein), rutherfordio (from Rutherford), hahnio (from Hahn). In other cases it is the finder's country of origin that is so honored: polonio (native country of Marie Curie); or the recognition comes to a particular region: amerino (from America), or from the university which sponsors the research: berkello (from Berkeley), californio (from California).

The linguistic inconveniences of these neologisms are evident. It is not very easy to verify the derivation, though as in "fermio", in some cases it has been possible. Also some abbreviations as "radar" allow derivation, though with lack of exactitude regarding the accentuation in Spanish. Unquestionably, the cooperation between linguists and scientists, can be enormously beneficial.

The Unity

Maintaining the unity or identity of the Spanish language confronted by the foreign influence is a constant preoccupation of Spanish philology, with reference both to the common spoken language and the literary one. It is reasonable to wonder as to what point this interest is a valid one when it concerns the terminology of the scientific language.

The scientific communication across linguistic and cultural borders and the universality and systematization of a lexicon are often found in conflict with national diversities and nationalistic tendencies. In fact we are faced with a kind of planetary system in which the English language occupies the center point and the other languages try to keep a more or less autonomous position while at the same time maintaining an orbit generating around the English center.

The French language with very strong official support and with the help of the formidable French Canadian element, seems to have found in the last years a direction that has apparently modified its own francophone system.

Spanish is not in that good of a situation, in spite of its large geographical area. The possibilities of a scientific language in Spanish are looked upon with skepticism, due to a lack of its own scientific creation. It is only right to acknowledge that there are more than a few people who accept not only the satelización of Spanish terminology with respect to English, but also its total colonización. Some years ago during one of my constant pleas for help for a terminological program, an important Spanish official surprised me with the following question and statement, "Scientific terminology in Spanish, for what? We scientists use English anyway."

Evidently this proposal of international terminological concurrence, as part of the globolect, faces many difficulties. It is necessary to gain support from people and institutions which are responsible for education in such countries as Spain and France, that are profoundly humanistic, and possessed with an international importance that forces them to sustain some of their own scientific

individuality, even though it be within rather confined limits of today's specialized concepts. It is imperative, therefore, to proceed with a double perspective: approach the existing forms and the process of formation of future neologisms while trying, by all means, to balance the traditional with the universal; balancing the elements which we may consider our own with those that global scientific creation places before us.

Maybe in this particular situation the ambiguous position of terminologists has to be considered, who traverse the limits between linguists, translators and documentalists. This was clearly evident at the Sixth International Congress in Quebec. At the moment of truth, the translators are, in a very personal and sometimes improvised manner, in charge of the largest number of terminological neologisms, and it is the lack of systematic rules for the formation of new words which does not allow the establishment of an appropriate system of translation, which is precisely what is needed, and what we are trying so hard to do.

To sum up: in this obviously schematic statement, we should call attention to the need of a normative formation of scientific terms, based on the elements which partake in their structure. There is an urgent need to undertake and produce a survey of the Spanish formants in such a way that they can be coordinated with at least the Anglo-Saxon and the Romance languages, and within these, particularly with French and English. This would make a selection of those formants possible that are not of Spanish origin and the universality of which should be clearly evident. There is some risk-taking involved. Risk of creating "satellite" terms which may become ingrained in the common language, which is not altogether dangerous. A similarly urgent need exists for the organization of a computerized program of constituents and a dictionary which would delineate information of systematic criteria to face the future invasions of scientific neologisms into the realm of the globolect.

It may appear at this time, that a universal norm to supervise the formation of technical words is a Utopian desire, but we should at least be able to count on

computerized information for the traditional systems of word formations, and on an index of the possibilities for the new processes of word-creation. It should be useful, moreover, to disseminate among scientists and translators (the major creators of neologisms today), the advantages of using more systematic processes, instead of those that are often personal or capricious ones in current practice. A correct and precise terminology, well planned and well structured, is not only a long-lasting linguistic problem, but also a desperate scientific need that requires attention, cooperation, and ultimate resolution.

NOTE

1) The scientific-technical vocabulary from the Academy of Sciences takes the place of an intermediate level between the specialized, scientific language, and the common language. The definitions presented in the vocabulary are correct, but they lack an indication of subject areas. In some cases, the context helps to identify the subject areas, in others, when the subject matter is multifarious, it does not. Etymology is also missing from the vocabulary of the Academy of Sciences, as well as a correspondence between French and English terms. A bibliography pertaining to international scientific terms would also be useful.

MACHINE TRANSLATION PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE OUTLOOK IN THE GLOBAL MILIEU

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Is there a need for Machine Translation (MT)? The foreseeable future looms as a society of information services which certainly will include a good deal of multilingual machine translation. The translation will flow from a variety of megalanguages with their multimillions of speakers from Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, Russian, Spanish and many other languages into English, and vice versa.

The preceding stages in MT efforts reached their limits simply because the systems developed were incapable of running on a high level of abstraction in order to accommodate, in a modular fashion the mandatory upper layers of information relating recursively to the extralinguistic situation.

There will be a need to develop future MT systems along the lines of mixed logical systems based partially on the theory of fuzzy sets. One of the tasks will be to design an Intermediate Language for Multilanguage Machine Translation. The essential structure of the IL will be that instead of translating from a source language directly into the target language, the process will be to translate first from the source language into an Intermediary Language and thence from the IL into the target language. The first step in this direction will be the development of a metalanguage for IL. One can select either a natural language or an artificial formal language as a metalanguage. In our research we are developing a metalanguage consisting of a combination of some words directly from English, such as some quantifiers (some, all, none), some particles (only, even), some letter representations for classes of words such as N(ouns), V(erbs), etc., and some numerical indexes referring to lexical entries for identification. Some semantic components from the primitive level may have even binary coding such as 0000, 1000, 0100, ..., 0001, etc., standing for such semantic classes as "solid, liquid,

gaseous," etc. Using Boolean functions within a universal programming language such as PL/1 (Programming Language One), one could match two templates on a bit-for-bit basis getting an automatic echo response. Given a pair of words such as Sunny weather one could design a matching code to find them compatible.

Ideally, a metalanguage should have the capacity to function as an algebraic representation both of paradigmatic minimal units and of the syntagmatic relations holding between them. The operations based on the IL should also include the positional pointers for referring to the items in the text and through them to the extralinguistic fragments. This type of research, should contribute toward the self-regulation of the IL and its connections with both the source and the target languages. This practically means that the IL MT system should be able to take an input which may not be perfect, yet which the system would try to understand, and therefrom produce a dynamic equivalent in the target language that would be acceptable to the user. Preliminary samples resulting from this research will be presented in the following pages for illustration purposes.

Introductory Remarks

In the observations made below I am guided by one of my teachers at the University of Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, Nikolaj O. Lossky, who assumed among other things that intuition could and should serve as a source for linguistic modeling of medium generality.

When the observation is not direct, the researcher intends to model the object in an indirect way. If the direct observation is indicated, the researcher either takes a part of the given object and after having analyzed it, projects the properties and relations of that part to the whole object, or, more frequently, the researcher constructs an artificial model (it does not matter whether it is concrete or abstract) and compares its functional behavior with that of the object itself.

In both instances the analogy is involved. A model could parallel the real object in terms of its functioning from partial similarity to any degree of isomorphic

resemblance. MODELS CAN HAVE UNIVERSAL GENERALITY, MEDIUM GENERALITY, AND LOW GENERALITY. The first two are less frequently produced in the research field. Researchers go most frequently by their previous motivations, experiences, skills, and their common sense. Their intuition serves them well as the source for linguistic modeling of medium generality.

In linguistic research we are interested in both generating and recognition modeling. In both of them certain statistical observations are useful.

Designing the principles for Intermediate Language (IL) centers around the biospheric mixed system where in a dynamic flux the organic and inorganic agents and forces exchange messages in order to adapt for further adjustment toward each other within the ecological system of the universe. Human languages are an organic part of that infinite universe basis. Languages reflect fragments of that basis in a variety of ways. Yet their referent is still the same universe.

Demand for Translation by Machine Grows

Robert J. Wielaard in the "Washington Post" (April 13, 1986, p. F8) reports that Peter DeMauro, who had just begun a pilot project at Xerox using computers to translate documents, runs Xerox's machine translation section, which yearly turns 50,000 pages of English text into French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Portuguese at the push of a button. The author mentioned that Ian Pigott, head of the MT program for the Common Market said "Efficient use of the MT system can speed up the rate of translation by a factor of four."

Similar reports come from other places reflecting a growing interest among companies and government agencies worldwide in machine translation to save time and money.

MT dictionaries contain data-based dictionaries of large size (hundreds of thousands of words and terms used in specific fields of interest). Wielaard cautiously remarks that, "If the syntax is simple, the dictionaries can recognize verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs and put them in the right order of the language in which the text

must be translated." According to the author of the above article, half a dozen MT systems are commercially available. The first convert to MT was the United States Air Force, which began using it in 1970 to translate Russian texts into English. Today, it translates some 60,000 pages of military data annually.

Since then, the use of machine translations has spread to the majority of European and Asiatic countries. The number of pairs of languages keeps growing.

Let us remember that the above statements are from the press and not every word of it should be taken as true. Nevertheless, the time has come when not only the MT for pairs of languages will grow, but also attempts will be made to design IL for multilanguage translations.

Machine Translation

Its history is described in several sources (Hutchins 1986, Zarechnak 1979). Here we shall mention only a few guiding highlights in both temporal events and developmental stages.

Machine translation is the application of logical software programs to produce the dynamic equivalences from the source language into the target language such that the user, if he is the specialist in the field, could understand the message contained in the source language, and, further, if the message is a description of an experiment, the experiment could be safely carried out in another laboratory.

As in any other new insights there is a long way between the concept and its computational development and testing in order to be marketed.

Hutchins (1986) properly indicates that among the precursors, one could easily mention the prevailing influence of Latin on the scientific community in the 17th century and the awareness that the local vernacular languages of that time were not capable of expressing scientific thought adequately. Hence a need arose to accept the Latin as a universal language, or to create an artificial language which could serve as the depositor of the thoughts to be communicated, and also the vehicle in which the source language information could be coded and

from it decoded and synthesized into the target language in case that Latin were not accessible, or that the local language was not developed enough, to express the ideas contained in the Latin texts.

Leibniz, Descartes, Becher and other writers were among the believers that given the numerical codings for the concepts such as *aymer*, *amare*, *philein*, *lieben*, *ljubit'*, etc., one could relate automatically the lexical entries among several languages. Among the difficulties encountered during the research PHASE AND DEVELOPMENT one could point to the multiple meanings of words, overlapping syntagmatic boundaries. The latter caused real pains in cutting the text sentences and their sub-sentence units into neat left-right boundary segments. Retrospectively, I look at the Georgetown University's MT system as an attempt to balance the theoretical insights with the technological limits of that time. This feature secured the working nature of the GU or GU-like MT systems. The other MT researchers who preferred to move in the "blue sky" area, were bound to fail since the data they used for testing were more frequently than not "doctored" data, not the data from the real texts of sufficient length. Theoreticians did not see the need to design and develop both the dictionaries and the grammars simultaneously with the emphasis that the context-free information units could and should be stored in the dictionary file while those of context-sensitive nature have to be assigned to the grammar file. One can also mention the problem of the ratio between the single entries versus the clustered entries with or without inflectional parts. If in the MT system, as is the case with Systran, developed by Peter Toma, the list of clustered entries is longer than that of the single items, an attempt to list all the possible combinations might lead to a national energy calamity.

One would only welcome improvements upon the older MT systems if the neophytes knew the older systems. The fact is that the older systems were not studied in detail for the reason that such knowledge might influence the creative power of the newcomers to the field. I have neither the time nor the desire to list the various kinds of statements on the older systems, particularly, GU,

General Analysis Technique (GAT), MT systems which are simply not true. Such statements were born out of negative attitudes toward somebody else's accomplishments. Criticism was based on hearsay, not on the authentic data, which were subject to verification by an independent source.

To give merely an example of such misstatements: 1) GU did not have a syntactic parser, 2) did not have valency codes, 3) was a word-for-word translation, etc. These statements are simply not true.

I would like to mention that the Linguistic Research Center (LRC), under the general guidance of Prof. Winfred P. Lehmann on German and English syntax, made significant progress in developing a methodology that could bring about the productive MT system, given further and continuous support. Prof. Lehmann organized the publication of the journal Computers and Translation with the aim of creating a cooperative and mutually helpful MT atmosphere among MT researchers from an international milieu. I would like also to mention that the Soviet researchers and some researchers from Western Europe have shown serious interest in the past MT research.

At the present time nobody is claiming that MT is not feasible. The problems are how to achieve it, how to make it elegant and multilingual.

My own efforts of longstanding fall within the conceptualization of the Intermediary Language (IL). This kind of research is still in its beginnings, and probably will be attacked as not feasible. So were the GU MT initial efforts. Our own attitude is based on three kinds of components to go into the design of the IL. The first consists of the concepts from the past and their critical evaluation. The second is based on our MT experience and the literary data of other commercial and theoretical formal parsers. The third, are the goal oriented limits during the feasibility study of a formal model for the IL.

I. Zellig Harris's (1962) "string analysis" is remarkable for a variety of reasons: the surface structures are real, they consist of plenty of types and subtypes, so the examiner could classify them systematically and test them against other random data. Harris's recursive techniques based on the kernel

sentences with the context-free boundary signals did influence the GAT-system in that the kernel types were coded, and the relations between kernels both syntactic and semantic were possible to recognize in operational terms. His recent English grammar on mathematical principles contributes further to the abstract syntax which could be translated into the specific syntax's variable versus constant-value, respectively.

II. We assume that the units we are discussing or manipulating are units from sets. The sets themselves can be treated as units within other sets. To be a structure one has to consider at least two elements in a certain relation. Thus a pair between a form and a semantic meaning could be formally expressed as an abstract pattern, and then tested if all the possible slots are filled from the concrete pair of languages. Let us compare Polish (P) and Russian (R), where also F=forms and S=semantics, and E=English. We could have:

1)	$F=F$ i.e. $S=S$	Polish voda	Russian voda	English water
2)	$F=F$ $S \neq S$	chas	chas	time vs. hour
3)	$F=F$ $S \neq S$	kachka	kachka	pitching vs. duck
4)	$F \neq F$ $S=S$	chlowiek	chelovek	human being
5)	$F \neq F$ $S \neq S$	pismienictwo	pis'mennost'	literacy vs. literature
6)	$F \neq F$ $S \neq S$	jest	jest'	eat vs. is
7)	$F \neq F$ $S=S$	listy	pis'ma	letters

8)	$F=F$ $S=S$	oraz	tozhe	also too	vs.
9)	$F=F$ $S=S$	za nizh	poza nizhe	posture vs. beyond than vs. below	

Data Structures for IL

The first step in developing the IL data structure is to design a metalanguage for representing information in that language in terms of variables and some constants such that the source language can be unambiguously expressed through the vehicle of the IL wherefrom it might be unambiguously synthesized into the receptor's (target) language. One way of starting the metalanguage is to design the abstract syntax containing a set of principles which will serve as the guideline for collecting, grouping, and classifying the information taken from the source language. The scope of this abstract syntax should contain at least the core of everything that the set of languages to be examined does contain, plus such insights of deductive nature as may be possible and necessary to introduce.

Let us illustrate a few principles and apply them to the set of pairs between forms (F) and semantics (S) listed above for the Polish and Russian language.

The abstract nature of the data structure syntax will deal not with the specific strings of symbols occurring in the source language but rather with the basic assumptions relevant for the phenomena under discussion. Given the set of pairs for information deposition, manipulation and retrieval, the principles should focus on the effective representation, classification and retrieval. To put it differently, the information items should be represented through structuring devices (=constructors) and selecting devices (=selectors) to facilitate the access to the items for their identification, processing and transforming.

The level of strings will be handled by the specific concrete syntax. Thus, the word 'mere' could be

represented as CVCV, i.e., the LIST of the non-terminal classifiers with the head and the tail (in LIST terminology).

Given the pair of items, each structure description will introduce functions for both constructing and accessing the component parts of members of the set to be processed. The level of functional description will make it possible to introduce new types of data without specifying the exact form of the memory representation within the given computer.

Only certain axioms will limit the functions so introduced. A data definition for the new structure when it is a pair could be verbalized in English as follows: * A PAIR HAS A FIRST AND A SECOND (ELEMENT). If X is a pair, then (first x) denotes the first of the pair, and (second x) denotes the second element of the pair.

Note that the definition is specific about the selecting devices, selectors, but says nothing about the constructing devices. The constructing function must be given separately. In the case of a pair, it is CPAIR (construct pair). This definition brings three functions, i.e., first, second, and cpair into existence. If these programs were to be mechanized, the specific programs must satisfy the following properties:

FIRST (CPAIR X Y) = X

SECOND (CPAIR X Y) = Y, from which it follows that if Z is a pair then

CPAIR (FIRST Z) (SECOND Z) = Z

To take values from the strings of pairs listed above, one can represent $\begin{matrix} F=F \\ S=S \end{matrix}$ as first $\begin{matrix} F \\ S \end{matrix}$ and second $\begin{matrix} F \\ S \end{matrix}$ via voda (P)

vs. voda (R)
water (E)

A form may be delimited in abstract as consisting of a single morpheme, i.e., (R):ili/(E):or vs. two or more morphemes (R): jel-i/(E) "firs," R:je-li/(E): "they were eating." Each morpheme has its own semantics which has to be represented, too. Obviously, this introduces the possibility of the data structures with different formats

for representation and subsequent processing. Different formats could refer to the description of the sets. Then in listing the members of sets with different formats, one could classify the list on the basis of associated predicates to distinguish between heterogeneous formats.

Predicate NULL. A list with the NULL format, i.e., having no components. (R):kofe/(E): "coffee" has NULL list for the plural.

Predicate NONNULL. A list has two components, a HEAD and a TAIL which is also a list.

Artificial Intelligence and Intermediary Language

From the statements made so far it should be apparent that the goal set for designing, developing and testing IL, one needs the computational facilities to perform and/or imitate human activities in the field of translation.

Human intuition and experiences from real life should serve as the basis for imparting into the computers some human gifts, and thus make the computer look as if it were endowed with human intelligence. The most obvious aspect for such an area is the collection of the information from human experts in a given field concerning both the data from the field and the knowledge they represent. Once this is accomplished, one can ask questions and the computer software should ideally provide a satisfactory answer.

The expert knowledge on multilanguage translations is gleaned from comparison of multilanguage texts, and theoretical insights found in them. To illustrate the point let us examine the following sentence:

AI is a young
E1 (Event)

subject, and as such there is still tremendous scope for

E2

anyone to press the frontiers forward in some small, or

E3

large way. Note the letter E=Event (=verbal form) under certain words. The number indicates the sequence of occurrences of the Events. They do not follow each other immediately. It makes sense to suspect that between them, at least between some of them, there may

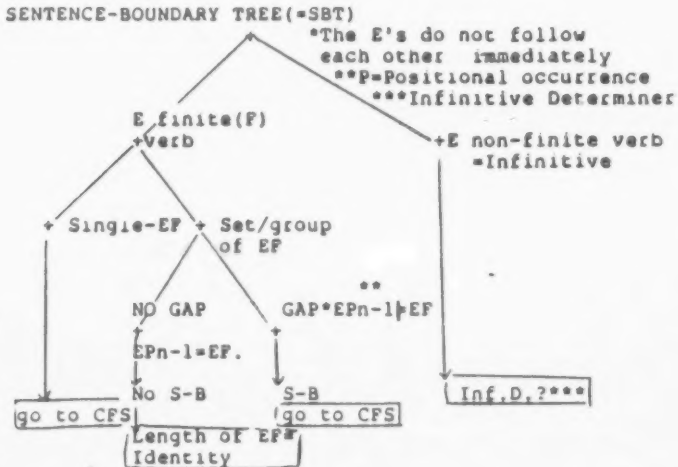
be a sentence boundary. We say, some of them, because there is a need to check whether the E's are finite verb forms or not. Only in the first set, they are explicit signals for the sentence boundary. We can visualize this in a form of a binary tree. See Figure 1. Note that Gap on Figure 1 means that the pairs of E's do not follow each other immediately. Compare "It must be said,"

E1 E2 E3

(where they do follow), and "He came before I expected," (the E's do not occur next to each other.) Inf. D=Infinitive Determiner, the verb form must in "I must go," is an Inf. D, and thus is to be followed by an infinitive.

Figure 1

Sentence-Boundary Tree



CFS = Content Free Signal

The issue then arises as to how to program the answer to the question about the existence of the sentence boundary? One way is to store the data in a tree structure, and then ask a series of questions, and then the computer software should provide the proper answer for the user. We could construct the following program:

- 1) Start at the top of the tree. Tell the user that this is a program about the sentence-boundary (S-B). Retrieve the items pointed by the next two branches (E-finite vs. E-non-finite).
- 2) Ask which of these two items is applicable. Follow the branch in the tree.
- 3) If this is the end of a branch, and there are no further branches, the answer has been found and is printed out.
- 4) If there is no answer yet, look along two branches from the present position, and receive that data; then go to 2).

How to Store the Data?

Let us use a two-dimensional array: Sent. -B: (PAIR, POS) E-finite and E-non-finite could be stored as the second element in the pair, while the pair variable will have a value 2 for these two strings. POS 1 will be occupied by E-finite, and POS 2 - by E non-finite. See Figure 2 (next page).

There are as many entries in the S-B as there are nodes in the tree (S-B). Each pair coming from the previous node has the same value, i.e., 2 which fact makes it possible to label any pair uniquely. The strong point in this storage is the possibility to associate even a pair of nodes with the common predecessor together.

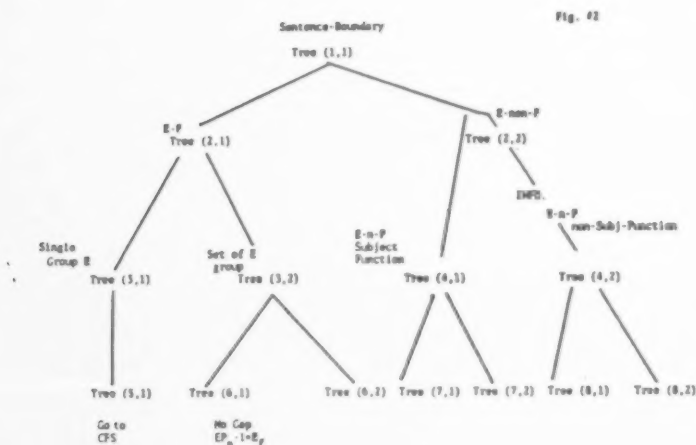
The tree structure could be improved so there will be more links (pointers) among the values of different levels of the first dimension of S-B. For instance, how to get naturally from the tree (3,1) to (4,1), i.e., jump horizontally, and also from the tree (2,2) to (6,1), i.e., to jump vertically? This storage improvement could be achieved by structuring the data with the links (pointers).

A Linked List

We want to store our items in such a way that each item should point to the next item if it is logically connected with it, disregarding wherever that item is stored. Usually, we want to change the relations between the item as a result of the preliminary testing, and then we don't want to destroy the whole tree structure, rather we would like to add the new information on the end of the string of data. For this kind of storage the simple array without the pointers will not do the job. Hence, the tree Figure 2 while having a good visual structure, is not suitable for linking between items that are not in the same branch. Pointers define the linked item by giving its position within the storage wherever this item is stored.

Figure 2

Sentence-Boundary



We shall improve the coding where the node generates the next two branches, or multiple branches since it is desirable that more than two branches might be needed to get an answer to a question posed by the user. Adding more values to POS is one way of doing it for each PAIR. In the extra position one could store the address of the next item logically connected with the item under consideration. The database should be able to expand along any branch within the tree.

Let us take another sentence and write a program:

<u>There are three different data types to</u>		<u>be</u>
Ef1		En-f2
<u>considered before the programs</u>	<u>can be</u>	<u>constructed.</u>
Ef3	Ef1 En-f2	Ef3

First, there is: HEAD of the tree = S-B (1,1), i.e., tree (1,1) contains the element 'sentence-boundary'. Since there is no partner for this item in the tree (1,2), then (1,2)=0.

Second, adding a value to the second dimension, we move to the tree (2,1), and look into its two branches. In this way we shall list all the pairs listed above.

The final type of data ends the sequence of branches, such as are. Since there are no branches from are, we shall put value 0 (zero) in its position, telling the program this is the answer to the question as to what kind of an E we found. See Figure 3 (next page).

It should be possible to prove that similar positional pointer 0 will be assigned to considered and to constructed, while be and can be should carry a positional pointer to the above two forms respectively. Before should turn out to be a CFS, i.e., the boundary signal between the first and the sentence structure. The reason being that can minus 1 is not an E, and also be (from to be) minus 1 is not E either. Before should carry in its dictionary a code for a legitimate candidate to be a S-B given the proper context. The proper coding should be based on two possibilities for before to function as a preposition (two functions it binds together are heterogeneous, as in the sentence, The case is before the judge/court, where before is not CFS), and a conjunction (two functions it binds together are homogeneous, on a sentence level, and the meaning of before="sooner than"

as in the sentence: "He came before I expected," and before is a CFS).

The Programs

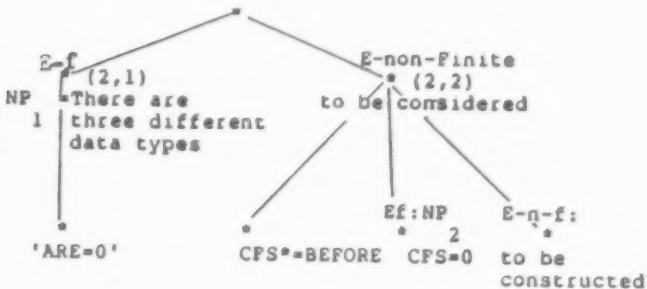
After having solved the complexity of the data structure, i.e., after you have built your dictionary, and your file, then you can start concentrating on your programs.

How to select a programming language? Take a language which is capable of recognizing letters individually, spaces between letters (=words), length of the string of characters, the beginning and the end of the character string. Any such language is list-oriented, be it LISP (list processing), or PL/I (programming language one), C (programming language called "C"), PROLOG (programming in logic), etc.

We shall make some illustrations in LISP. Programs can be written so that they are capable of concentrating upon what to do with the list, taking for granted the need to structure the list prior to programming.

Figure 3

Sentence-Boundary: Tree (1,1)



Human Language and Artificial Intelligence

We use human natural language for communication. The same is desirable for AI. We want the computer language to treat the words from the human language as a string of characters separated by spaces. Giving the attention to characters and lists generally has to be looked upon as more important than to think in terms of numbers and/or variables only.

In our tree for S-B we have seen that the tree has a certain hierarchy. The S-B is subdivided into E-f vs. E-n-f etc. We would like to take the words from the real text, and code them with the codes to be assigned to the words from the texts, or run the text against the dictionary lookup, and copy the codes from the dictionary, and restore the text words in their natural sequence as they were prior to the lookup operation.

Interrelationship between Spaces and Brackets

					1	2	3
					((A	computer	language
4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.7	5
(which	treats	lists	in	a	special	way)	will
6		7	8	9	10	11	
automatically		be	applicable		to	human	language...))

If we drop brackets, all we shall see is the list of character sequences separated by spaces (in between are words). The brackets are used to indicate the degree of nesting of one string within the other, i.e., (which ... way) is nested within ((A computer language (...)) will ... language)); and by dropping the outer brackets, we shall nest the sequence given within the abstract scheme of a sentence. Thus by dropping brackets we descend to the next level in the hierarchy. A LIST is a number of character strings separated by a space enclosed within round brackets. In the sentence above we have a list of 12 elements, the 4th of which is a list of 7 elements, the latter is a sublist. The word order in the list is functional. If an element is not a list, then it is an atom, thought of by definition as indivisible. Thus the above list contains 11 atoms and a sublist of 7 atoms.

The first element in a list is its head, the rest of them constitute its tail. See "A" vs. the rest, or "which" vs. the rest in the sublist.

We used a list starting with the sentence-boundary; abbreviated: S-B. The fact that the hyphen is used, makes these two words into one, since there is no space between them. The hyphen is looked upon as a character. Since we may use space replacement, i.e., a lower bar, we glue together atoms into one atom, by its appearance. Thus our sentence-boundary could be represented as a list: (S-B(Event-finite Event-non-finite)). This is a list of two elements (....(...)), i.e., the number of balanced brackets. An element may be an atom, i.e., S-B. The sublist contains two elements and each of them is an atom.

If we wish to extend the list to contain more elements from the tree (1,1), we should change one of the atoms from the sublist into a list, i.e., (Event-finite (Event-finite simple Event-finite group)). This is still a single element since we have (E-f (EE)), but it is not an
ff

atom, it became a list of two elements - an atom and a sublist.

If we want to represent the whole tree in bracket-like manner, we shall get: (S-B((Event-finite (Event-finite Event-finite group)) E-non-finite (Event-non-finite-Subject Event-n-f-Object))). By increasing the levels of brackets, the list is accordingly extended. Let us note that one space or more spaces count as one single space.

This new list has again two elements such that the sentence-boundary is the head and the second element consists of brackets. For the visual inspection, we print these two elements vertically one under the other. In the second element there is an atom and a list consisting of two elements in each. The innermost brackets are the lowest and the outermost brackets are at the highest level. The two elements were used for the list since our tree had only a binary branching. The advantage of this representation is the fact that a two-dimensional tree diagram was represented as a one-dimensional sequence in a linear form which can be put in from the terminal keyboard.

The disadvantage is the difficulty in counting all the brackets properly. One way to make it easier for reading, is to unite the lists in such a way that each list will be a triplet with the head and the pair of elements. Compare:

- a) ((S-B ((Event - fin. Event-non finite))
- b) (Event-finite (Event-finite-single Event-finite-group))
- c) (Event-non-finite (Event-n-f-Subject Event-n-f-Object))

The triplets are on the same bracket level. The list such as this one is called an associated list. Instead of having triplets, one can build a list with quartets, quintets, pairs, units and, of course, a zero list. Given the words from the natural language, each word in a dictionary could be assigned a number of elements going with it for its semantic saturation. This number may vary from zero to four and form the head of the associated list.

Machine Translation and Intermediary Language

In developing the machine translation between a pair of languages such as Russian to English, we are in a way developing also certain procedures which can be used likewise in IL designs, namely the transfer routines between the source and the target language.

In the Appendix there is an illustration of the major operations which take place in structuring the words for the dictionary, matching the text against the dictionary, syntactic analysis, and finally, English synthesis. An example of the abbreviations occurring is the following: RW=Russian word, S=singular, P=plural, 1=nominative, 2=genitive, 3=dative, 4=accusative, 5=instrumental, 6=locative/prepositional case form in Russian. Column PS designates "parts of speech," where 1=noun, 2=verb, 3=adjective, 4=adverbial, 5=preposition, 6=conjunction, 7=particle, 0=punctuation marks, proper names, etc., \$=subject function, *=predicate function, HMO=homogeneous functions, G=governing structure, A=agreement structure, CD=case determiner, DXC=dichotomy cut, i.e., kernel sentence boundary, EW=English words.

The first four words in Russian are translated as "The physiology of higher nervous activity." Note under the column GA, all four words carry the code G and in column CD there is code CD2, i.e., the governing structure governs the noun-noun structure in the genitive case which by itself would be translated as "physiology of activity," yet the "activity" is modified by two words through the agreement structure also in the genitive case; this fact forces the preposition "of" to be inserted, not in front of the "activity", but rather in front of the string of its modifying adjective forms. Note also that the definite article "the" is inserted in front of "physiology" though there are no articles in Russian. One would have to read in detail the whole set of operations to "see" how the translation is achieved. Yet in brief, one could assume that the sentence frame is organized on the basis of context-free and context-sensitive features both in the dictionary and the syntax to facilitate the generated output which, hopefully, is acceptable both to the special user and the expert in the field.

A Look into the Future

In retrospect, looking back at more than 30 years of machine translation, certain phases of its development can be clearly recognized: 1) The idea started taking concrete form with the first timid experimentation with computers and ended with the Georgetown University-IBM experiment in 1954. 2) It proved the feasibility of MT and led to the development of the GAT, GU system, and similar systems. A set of favorable circumstances also facilitated both the theoretical and the applied aspects of MT systems. On the theoretical side, the development of structural linguistics reached a stage where it was ready for formalization of linguistic operations. On the applied side, the computer became available to be tested in this area. Phase 3) is MT development after the intervention of the Automatic Language Processing Committee (ALPAC).

The third phase ended abruptly with the ALPAC report which prematurely cut the life-line from the yet unborn child. In the past there was very little personal relation among MT researchers that could encourage

mutual trust and cooperation. Nevertheless, for those of us who were fortunate enough to participate in the first phases of machine translation, the words of Wordsworth come to mind:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven."
(The Prelude, Book xi)

In our future efforts we should evaluate different trends in automatic language research on the basis of their own procedure and purpose. While certain overlapping is unavoidable both nationally and internationally (in order not to subdue some emerging new ideas or procedures), it is highly desirable that each country monitor MT research abroad, and make its own achievements and/or ideas known broadly--to everyone concerned.

It is my dream that the Intermediary Language might yet serve as a unifying trend for all of us working on MT, if we are to make further progress in discovering the semantic core common to the megalanguages, and perhaps to all languages.

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Appendix

RW	S	P	PS	H	GA	CD	DXC
1 FIZIOLOGI4	S1	P	\$12	HMO	G	CD2	
2 VYSWE1	S23	6P	.32	HMO	GA		
3 NERVNO1	S23	6P	.32	HMO	GA		
4DE4TEL6NOSTI	S12	P	.12		GA	CD5	

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF HIGHER NERVOUS ACTIVITY....

STRESS ASSIGNMENT IN LETTER-TO-SOUND RULES FOR SPEECH SYNTHESIS

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A speech synthesizer is a machine that inputs a stream of text and outputs a speech signal. This paper will discuss briefly how words are converted to phonemes. Typically words are converted to phonemes in one of two ways: 1) either by looking the words up in a dictionary for their phonemic transcription, (perhaps with a certain amount of morphological analysis), or 2) by sounding the words out from their spelling (i.e., sound the word out from basic principles).

Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages; dictionary lookup fails for unknown words (e.g., proper nouns) and letter to sound rules fail for irregular words, which are very common in English. Most speech synthesizers adopt a hybrid strategy, using the dictionary when possible and turning to letter-to-sound rules for the rest. These systems lean very heavily on letter to sound rules for surnames.

This paper will focus on the letter-to-sound component. It will be assumed that most common words will be handled by the dictionary approach so that only infrequent words/names will be left to the letter-to-sound component.

The Local Approach (A Straw Man)

Most letter-to-sound rules work by translating strings of letters directly into strings of phonemes using context-sensitive rewrite rules such as: $t \Rightarrow /t/$; $t \Rightarrow /sh/$ This formalism could be used to say that the letter *t* is written as the phoneme */t/* in most contexts, but in certain contexts (e.g., before the letters *ion*), the letter *t* is rewritten as the phoneme */sh/*.

It is very difficult to write a large grammar in this formalism. Most such projects require a few years of intense effort by a highly skilled expert. The end result is often very difficult to debug and to maintain, and

therefore not very attractive to development groups. Some researchers (e.g., Klatt and Shipman) have attempted, but never with success, to alleviate these drawbacks by turning to self-organizing technologies to help write the grammar. The "local approach" would work much better if phonological processes worked locally (e.g., within a 3-7 character window).

Representation Issues

Unfortunately, many phonological processes (especially stress assignment) cannot be stated very easily in terms of characters in a small window. Stress assignment is more naturally described in terms of linguistically motivated representations based on syllable weight, part of speech, morphology and etymology.

Syllable weight: Syllables are marked either heavy or light, depending only on the local "shape" (e.g., vowel length and number of post-vocalic consonants). For example, the last pronounced vowel of assume is heavy because it has a long vowel, and the last syllable of astonish is light because it has a short vowel. Heavy syllables are more likely to be stressed than light syllables, though the actual outcome depends upon contextual constraints such as the English Main Stress Rule. These contextual constraints are easier to state in terms of syllable weight than in terms of sequences of letters. Attempting to formulate these constraints in terms of sequences of letters, as the "local approach" does, is probably mistaken.

Part of speech: The English Main Stress Rule is also sensitive to part of speech as evidenced by pairs such as: torment (noun)/torment (verb). The fact that stress alternates systematically with part of speech causes difficulty for the "local approach," since part of speech cannot be determined locally within a 3-7 character window.

Morphology: Certain suffixes such as -ation, -ate force the stress to alternate backwards as in: degrade/degradation. These suffixes, which are called strong retractors, are problematic for the "local approach" because the stress alternations propagate over an arbitrary

number of letters. Note that it would be impossible to synthesize deg without first knowing the parity of the stress alternation.

Other suffixes such as -ence are called weak retractors. In this case, the stress depends on the syllable weight at the end of the stem. When the final syllable of the stem is heavy, it is stressed (e.g., dependence); when the final syllable is light, it is unstressed (e.g., confidence). Note that the syllable weight contrast can be obscured by the spelling. Consider inference/inherence which both end with the same six letters: -erence. To predict the correct stress assignment, the letter-to-sound rules have to know that the stem fer is light and the stem here is heavy. This kind of knowledge is extremely difficult to incorporate into the "local approach."

Etymology: Although the English Main Stress Rule correctly predicts the placement of stress in the bulk of native English words, it needs to be amended to cope with words borrowed from Italian, French, and many other languages. It is essential for the letter-to-sound rules to know that names borrowed from Italian (Marconi), for example, take penultimate stress and that names borrowed from French (Annette) take final stress. Etymology, like morphology, part of speech and syllable weight, is problematic for the "local approach" because etymological cues are often distributed throughout a name.

It will be argued that each of these four points, syllable weight, part of speech, morphology and etymology, ought to play an important role in the representation.

Etymology

In addition to the stress arguments, there are also a number of additional motivations for determining the use of etymology in letter-to-sound rules. Note that the letter sequence gh in Italian names such as AldriGHeti should not be realized with the same phonemes as in native words such as lauGH or siGH. Similarly ch is /k/ in Italian (MacCHi) and Greek (ACHilles), /sh/ in French (CHateau) and /ch/ in Japanese (HamaguCHi) and in native English words (CHurCH). Many other letter sequences are

also sensitive to etymology. CC in Italian names (lanuCCi) should be /ch/, not /ks/ (as in accept). And ois in French (GrangeOIS) must not be confused with ois in other parts of the vocabulary (stereOISomer). For all of these reasons and more, it will be assumed that etymology ought to be treated as an intermediate level of representation in letter-to-sound rules.

SPELLING



ETYMOLOGY



STRESS & PHONEMES

Trigram Model

Language Specific Rules

Etymology is determined from spelling using trigram statistics. The probability that Aldrighetti is Italian, for example, is estimated by computing the probability that each of the trigrams (three letter sequences) in Aldrighetti came from Italian and multiplying each of these together. The trigram model works quite well because most of the languages in question have very different phonotactics (ordering constraints on phonemes), and these differences are reflected in the trigram probabilities, as illustrated in the following two tables. The first table presents all trigrams that start with ig, as estimated from two training corpora of Italian and Japanese names. Each corpus contained approximately 1,000 names.

Probability of X/ig_

Italian		Japanese	
igl	39%	igu	42%
ign	15%	iga	35%
igo	15%	ige	15%
igi	12%	igi	8%
iga	6%		
igr	6%		
igg	3%		
igh	3%		

These statistics show quite clearly that consonant sequences are much more common in Italian than in

Japanese, where consonants and vowels show a very strong tendency to alternate.

The second table lists a number of trigrams which are stereotypical of certain languages. Note that probability estimates tend to agree with our intuitions.

Trigram	Trigram Probabilities (%)			
	Italian	Japanese	Greek	French
igh	3	0	0	9
ett	70	0	3	22
cci	25	0	0	0
fuj	0	30	0	0
oto	0	61	14	0
mur	0	86	0	0
los	4	0	65	0
dis	3	0	74	5
kis	0	6	73	0
euv	0	0	0	9
nie	1	0	2	50
ois	10	6	0	61
geo	0	0	38	14
eil	0	0	0	50

All probabilities are normalized by the first two letters. For example, the trigram probability *igh* is computed by counting the number of instances of *igh* in the training corpus, and normalizing by the number of instances of *igX*, for any letter *X*.

The table below shows some sample results for a number of Italian, Japanese, Greek and French names.

Name	Estimated	Etymology
Aldrichetti	0.65	Italian
Angeletti	1.00	Italian
Bellotti	1.00	Italian
Iannucci	1.00	Italian
Italiano	1.00	Italian
Lombardino	0.58	Italian
Marconi	0.98	Italian
Olivetti	1.00	Italian
Asahara	1.00	Japanese

Enomoto	1.00	Japanese
Fujimaki	1.00	Japanese
Fujimoto	1.00	Japanese
Fujimura	1.00	Japanese
Funasaka	1.00	Japanese
Toyota	1.00	Japanese
Umeda	0.96	Japanese
Anagnostopoulos	1.00	Greek
Demetriadis	1.00	Greek
Dukakis	0.99	Russian
Annette	0.95	French
Deneuve	0.75	French
Bantegnie	0.66	Latin
Grangeois	0.93	French
Baguenard	0.54	Middle French
Mireille	0.94	French

Given a fairly reliable estimate of the etymology such as this, it is then possible to design language specific rules for assigning stress so that Italian names receive penultimate stress and French names receive final stress. Similarly, it is possible to design language specific rules so that *ch* is realized as /k/ in Italian and as /ʃ/ in French, and so on. These sorts of etymologically determined variations, are relatively easy to incorporate into the letter-to-sound rules if etymology is treated as an intermediate level of representation.

Syllable Weight and Part of Speech

Like etymology, syllable weight and part of speech should also be treated as an intermediate level of representation.

SPELLING



WEIGHT & POS



STRESS

Hard (Catch-as-Catch-Can)

Easy (Phonological Theory)

The mapping from spelling to weight and part of speech is very hard and relatively uninteresting, so little

will be said about it here. In contrast, the mapping from syllable weight and part of speech to stress has been very heavily studied. There is a very rich and powerful phonological theory that basically solves the problem in many cases.

As mentioned above, the phonological theory is more likely to stress heavy (H) syllables than light (L) syllables, though the actual outcome depends on rules like the English Main Stress Rule. Basically, for verbs, the Main Stress Rule will stress the last syllable if it is heavy. Thus, the final syllable of assume is stressed because it is heavy and the final syllable of astonish is not stressed because it is not heavy. The rule for nouns, is very similar except that it applies to the penultimate syllable instead of the final syllable. Thus, the penultimate syllable of synópsis is stressed because it is heavy and the penultimate syllable of cínema is not stressed because it is not heavy.

English Main Stress Rule

POS	WEIGHT	STRESS	EXAMPLE
Verb	LH	01	<u>assúme</u>
Verb	LHL	010	<u>astónish</u>
Noun	LHL	010	<u>synópsis</u>
Noun	LLL	100	<u>cínema</u>
Noun	HH	13	<u>tórmént</u>
Verb	HH	31	<u>tormént</u>

The theory of stress assignment is composed of a short list (less than a half dozen) of rules of this kind. For efficiency purposes, instead of interpreting these rules at runtime, it was decided to use a table lookup mechanism. The table below (which was constructed by Richard Sproat) associates a unique output stress assignment for each combination of input syllable weights and part of speech.

SPROAT'S WEIGHT TABLE

Weight	Part of Speech	
	Verb	Noun
H	1	1

L	1	1
HH	31	10
HL	10	10
LH	01	10
LL	10	10
HHH	103	310
HHL	310	310
HLH	103	100
HLL	310	100
LHH	103	010
LHL	010	010
LLH	103	100
LLL	010	100

Note that the table is extremely small. Assuming that words have up to N syllables and two parts of speech of interest, there are: 2 times N over sigma times 2 to the i power, where i equals 1, possible inputs. For $N=8$, the table has only 1020 entries, which is not unreasonable.

Moreover, note that there are even fewer distinct outputs. For example, 103 stress is assigned to verbs with many different syllable weights: HHH, HLH, LHH and LLH. In fact, there are only 51 distinct outputs. The fact that $51 \ll 1020$ indicates that the phonological theory provides a very powerful set of constraints. The theory is so powerful, in fact, that the constraints can make up for some uncertainty in the input description. Stress is often completely determined if the system knows the part of speech, the weight of the final or penultimate syllable (depending on part of speech) and the number of syllables.

Uncertainty in the input description arises because syllable weight and part of speech cannot be determined from spelling in general. Little will be said here about how the system attempts to guess weight and part of speech, except to say that the system makes use of a short lexicon of common morphemes and their syllable weights. Thus the system knows that -ation is HL and that -ity is LL and that -ence is L. The table below lists the performance of the system with a number of these morphemes. Note that strong retractors (e.g., -ation) are generally easier than weak retractors (-ence). Strong

retractors are easy because stress does not depend on the stem; in contrast, weak retractors are hard because stress depends crucially on the weight of the last syllable of the stress. Recall the pair inference/inh  rence which require that the system know that fer is light and that here is heavy.

% Correct Primary Stress	Number of Words Tested	Words Ending With
0.98	726	-ity
0.98	1652	-ion
0.97	345	-ium
0.97	136	-ular
0.97	339	-ical
0.97	236	-eous
0.98	160	-aceous
0.97	215	-ious
0.96	151	-osis
0.96	2617	-ic
0.96	364	-ial
0.95	617	-ian
0.95	122	-ify
0.94	313	-ish
0.93	56	-istic
0.92	2626	-on
0.88	52	-ency
0.82	1818	-al
0.77	128	-atory
0.77	529	-able

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to think hard about representation. Letter-to-sound rules will perform better if the "local approach" is abandoned in favor of a linguistically motivated representation that incorporates: 1) Syllable Weight, 2) Part of Speech, 3) Morphology, and 4) Etymology.

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NATIONAL LANGUAGE ACADEMIES: THE HIERARCHICAL ASPECT OF GOALS IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

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Introduction

Moshe Nahir (1984:294) defines language planning as "deliberate, institutionally organized attempts at affecting the linguistic or sociolinguistic status or development of language." In this brief essay, an attempt will be made to render explicit an implicit hierarchy in the goals of language planning as elaborated in Nahir's (1984) excellent article on the topic.

Language Planning Goals and Processes

During the past decade, Nahir (1977, 1978, 1984), a recognized authority in language planning goals, has developed and refined a classification of goals which a language planning organization (academy, committee, or other related group) may carry out. That list is reproduced here as section "I".

- I. Language planning goals (Nahir 1984:294)
 - A. Language purification
 1. External purification
 2. Internal purification
 - B. Language revival
 - C. Language reform
 - D. Language standardization
 - E. Language spread(-ing)
 - F. Lexical modernization
 - G. Terminology unification
 - H. Stylistic simplification
 - I. Interlingual communication
 1. Worldwide
 2. Regional
 - J. Language maintenance
 1. Dominant language maintenance
 2. Ethnic language maintenance
 - K. Auxiliary code standardization

Nahir's list of language planning goals demonstrates that he has given much thought to this topic and has elaborated on his original list of five (Nahir 1977) which included only points I. A-D, and I. F above. These five functions, as Nahir first called them, constitute an explicit statement of functions carried out by language planning entities such as academies. To that list, six additional goals, identified by Nahir, have been added, namely, I. E, and I. G-K above.

Nahir links these goals with four processes to bring about these goals. Those processes are also reproduced here as section "II".

II. Language Planning Processes (Nahir 1984:296)

- A. Selection
- B. Codification
- C. Implementation
- D. Elaboration

A Suggestion for Nahir's Eleven Goals

Nahir (1984:296) states that his original five functions were historical in nature because they described what planning agencies were already doing. Nahir sought to create a list of possible activities that such organizations might perform or had undertaken only recently in an effort to expand their horizons and further utilize the expertise and influence that such bureaus possess.

It is precisely this feature of that linguist's excellent work that I wish to expand upon. Specifically, I wish to propose a hierarchical arrangement of these goals as a means of permitting such agencies a more focused and better organized approach to language planning. In the remainder of this discussion, I will suggest a set of two, tiered taxonomies for the eleven goals proffered by Nahir. Inherent in this suggestion is a notion of "macro-goals" (those objectives that have a long-term payoff such as linguistic revival or spreading) and "micro-goals" (those activities that are not ends in themselves but rather may contribute incrementally to a more important or greater

purpose, e.g., projects such as the preparation of grammars and dictionaries that contribute to the standardization of a language).

The grouping of eleven goals seems capable of being split into two different divisions. On the one hand, four of the functions (revival, maintenance, spread, interlingual communication) fit together neatly in terms of their basic purpose which I shall label as "restorative-augmentative." On the other hand, the remaining seven goals (standardization, reform, terminology unification, lexical modernization, stylistic simplification, purification, and auxiliary code standardization) also belong to a distinct category of related activities which I shall designate as "normative."

Category one above ("restorative-augmentative") appears to have related, ordered functions which I depict graphically in Figure 1.

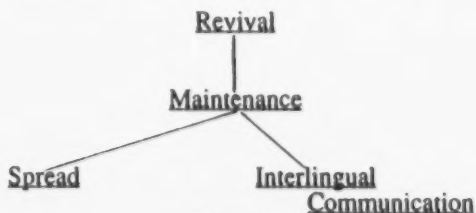


Figure 1

That chart demonstrates a rooted, ordered, and hierarchical structure of Nahir's four goals related to reinstatement and expansion. Thus, it would be necessary to proceed from the highest applicable goal to those that are lower on the chart in order to approach language planning in an organized and systematic fashion. Logical as this suggestion may seem, an examination of some of the efforts by various language academies would indicate that such a rational approach is not always followed. Nahir (1984:296-297) observes that the original five functions or goals mentioned in his 1977 article are those which describe what such organizations actually do. The additional six goals either have been recently adapted or remain to be addressed by such organizations.

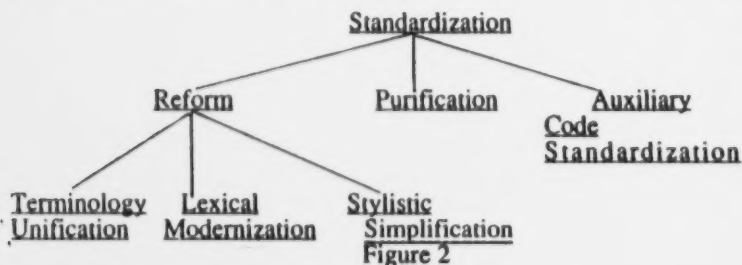
Any effort to deal with these goals would require the development to a "flow chart" of functions such as a PERT (Program Evaluation and Review Technique) diagram if any progress is to be achieved. Planning and decision-making strategies which employ the mechanism of a PERT chart enhance and expedite goal-oriented projects. Because these goals are "layered," any true "plan" or blueprint must necessarily approach these goals hierarchically. In order to maximize the goals of a language academy, it would be necessary to start at the top of the hierarchy and work down the "tree" as a way of enhancing efficiency. In the case of Figure 1, one would start at the top ("revival") first. If this were not a goal (as in the case of a language that already existed, though perhaps only in uncoded form), the next step would be to move on to "maintenance." It may be the case that an organization would choose to pursue simultaneously the goal of interlingual communication. This, however, may not always be possible and this function would be ignored.

Of the four goals, revival, of course, would be primary. In the case of the successful restoration of Hebrew and the ongoing efforts to re-establish Cornish, the resurrection of a moribund language would be required before the work of maintenance could be addressed. Once the extremely difficult task of linguistic renaissance had been achieved, a language planning organization would strive to maintain this foundation through conventional means such as recognition of the tongue as the official language of the state, public instruction in that idiom, use of the language in the print and non-print media, development of dictionaries and pedagogical grammars, etc. Category one ("restorative-augmentative") encompasses the language planning processes of selection, and implementation. The choice of which language to resuscitate or preserve is an obvious first step in the planning process. Implementation of a strategy for accomplishing either option would be the next step.

Revival is not a common feature of language planning since it is rarely tackled and even less often is this complex task successful. The more frequent scenario is the attempt to maintain a given ethnic language which

is in danger of dying out as in the case of languages in every part of the globe (Dorian 1981:1-2). Once a given language is stabilized, the goal of language academies or other agencies must be to decide if mere maintenance of the status quo is sufficient or desirable. In some cases, it may be deemed necessary that the language, albeit revived or salvaged from imminent extinction, should be extended and diffused as in the case of French in officially bilingual Canada. Likewise, efforts to promote interlingual communication may best be achieved through the use of a single international language. L. L. Zamenhof (1859-1917), creator of Esperanto, had as his expressed objective the cultivation of an international auxiliary tongue which would facilitate such communication. More often than not, English in this century and French in the last have achieved this objective.

Category two above ("normative"), as in the case of category one already discussed, also entails an ordered and hierarchical ranking of Nahir's goals. Figure 2 portrays this point graphically.



In this group of goals, standardization would seem to be basic. This function would then "feed" into a second tier of goals: reform, purification, and auxiliary code standardization. Subordinated to reform and on a third level would be the three goals of terminology unification, lexical modification, and stylistic simplification. These normative activities would relate to the language planning processes of codification and elaboration specifically.

Standardization is an advanced stage of planning which logically follows either revival or maintenance. Subsumed under this rubric are three important tasks. The first is reform which requires terminological unification (the standardization of technical terms to facilitate international understanding), lexical modernization (especially in the case of a revived language like Hebrew or even a regional language such as Provençal), and ultimately stylistic simplification, e.g., the different professional registers (medicine, law, and business). In the realm of purification, another form of standardization is at work, namely, the regularization of dialectal forms. Finally, auxiliary code standardization is perhaps the last step in the hierarchy of language planning goals since this stage presupposes a relatively sophisticated level of language management.

Summary

In this paper, I have sought to make explicit an obvious hierarchical arrangement of Nahir's (1984) eleven language planning goals. The purpose of this discussion is to propose a model of language planning goals which will enable planning organizations such as language academies to carry out their tasks as efficiently as possible. This proposal is a tiered version of the goals which describes the logical sequencing of events entailed by Nahir's eleven unordered goals. Clearly, at the lower echelons of the hierarchy, it may be prudent, if not more economical, to perform several functions simultaneously.

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GLOBAL DEMANDS ON LANGUAGE: THE EXPERIENCE OF ONE SPANISH TEXTBOOK AUTHOR-EDITOR

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This paper deals with the global vocabulary of Spanish as it affects the processes of writing and editing Spanish language textbooks intended for colleges and universities in this country. When the topic was initially suggested to me, I saw it primarily as one of interest to a relatively small part of the academic community. Since then, I've paid particular attention to instances of problems in this area in my own work and have followed references to vocabulary in current pedagogical literature. I've come to the conclusion that there are indeed a number of important questions to be addressed about global vocabulary, i.e., the *globolect*.

It is very clear, and I'm sure that other sessions have addressed this question in depth, that the fact that Spanish is a global language creates problems for many of us involved with the language and with Hispanic studies, in this case for the textbook author, editor, and user. What is not clear is what authors, editors, and users of textbooks should do about these problems. I would like to divide my time today between those two areas: first, trying to describe the problems as I see them and telling you what we currently do about them, then talking about what should happen.

First, the problems and our current solutions. Spanish is, of course, a language in the process of becoming, of evolving, in many parts of the world. The first problem for us as writers and editors of textbooks is that of choice between various forms of Spanish: "Which Spanish," if you will, "do we present for students to learn?" My answer to that question is purely experiential, not based in research at all. But for what my experience may be worth, it suggests that we have difficulty with vocabulary choices in the following areas: 1) The names for foods and beverages. Are they guisantes or arvejas? Champiñones or hongos? And what is a torilla? 2) Descriptive adjectives for color, color of hair and eyes. What is the most common way to say that someone has

brown hair? How do you say green eyes? Hazel eyes? 3) The names for vehicles of transportation and appliances of all kinds. Is it a bus, an autobús, a guagua, or a camión? Should I buy an ordenador or a computadora? 4) The names for common household objects and the names for the rooms of a house. Deciding how a text will say "bedroom" is always a major decision for us. Another area of occasional difficulty is deciding which verb to use to describe common actions: stand up, stretch out, pick up, and so on. And then there is the whole question of obscenity: the common name for an everyday object in one area may very well be an obscene or vulgar term in some other part of the Spanish speaking world.

It is obvious from the categories I've mentioned that the areas of flux we observe in vocabulary usage involve not esoteric vocabulary but the vocabulary of daily life. It is also clear from some of the examples I've suggested that there is a clear peninsular Spanish versus Latin American Spanish problem of choice.

The first battle in the problem of choice is obviously fought by the team of authors. If their biases are all the same, there is no problem; the choice is determined by the language common to all of them. It is rarely that simple, however. More often than not, the authorial team will reflect the global language community. The Puntos de partida (Random House) writing team, which includes the authors of the ancillary materials, divides up in this way: two authors whose preference is clearly peninsular; one author whose norm is the language of Colombia; one who is Cuban; one, Mexican, one Peruvian, and one, Panamanian. In addition, we have consistently worked with two native readers, one from Spain and the other from El Salvador, thus adding yet another national voice. We at the publishing house are clearly a global community in our own right!

To some extent the problems created by this tower of Babel on the team are solved by frequency: the term preferred by the greatest number of co-authors will be used. In addition, if there are two clear choices, ordenador and computadora, for example, we will sometimes present both words. Similar cases include el

bolso and la bolsa, el radio and la radio, las papas and las patatas, and so on. A number of possibilities for car are also generally permitted: el coche, el carro, el auto, el automóvil.

We also make a concerted effort to present regional variations when the context of a reading or dialogue makes the use of regional vocabulary appropriate. Clearly, the vocabulary of a discussion about food will be different depending on where the dialogue is set in the Hispanic world, since lunch or dinner--both their hour and their content--are one thing to a Mexican and quite another for a Spaniard, a Bolivian, an Argentine, and so on.

We also feel that it is necessary to explain these kinds of linguistic variations to students, to mention explicitly our decisions either in a cultural note or at the very least in footnotes that occur as needed throughout the text. Thus, I think that we as textbook writers and editors try to be responsible members of the global language community to the extent we feel is feasible for the beginning language classroom. We think, in fact, that part of our task as writers is to teach that such a global language community exists. In this, we are quite similar to most writing teams and to editors from most publishing companies.

The position that we take is not without its problems, however. It is my personal perception that many language teachers see language not as an evolving, changing system, but as an unchanging body of knowledge. My perceptions were echoed in a recent article in the ADFL Bulletin, "World Language Communities: Foreign Language Teaching and the World View," in which the authors state:

Most people, including professional language teachers, tend to view linguistic phenomena in terms of essentially static systems: a given language is said to have a certain structure and to be spoken in a particular part of the world by a specific group of people. Thus even language specialists may ignore the essential fact that language is a constantly changing and

evolving entity. (Stanley McCray and Mary O'Neill, "World Language Communities: Foreign Language Teaching and the World View," *ADFL Bulletin*, 16, No. 2, January 1985, p. 53.)

The fact that language is a constantly changing entity seems particularly relevant in a discussion of Spanish, with its world-wide distribution of speakers and with numerous speakers in areas of interface with other languages, particularly in the United States. Yet since the language is perceived as a static system by many teachers, and since the system they accept is the one they know, attempts to make textbooks reflect global concerns are often criticized. Criticisms fall into several categories, in my experience, and I would like to tell you about them briefly.

1) There is a marked tendency to criticize anything that is perceived as being "too Mexican." Even the use of *el carro* and the names of typical Mexican foods can cause this criticism to be voiced. The criticism is particularly upsetting to many authors, since these words are close cognates, or constitute vocabulary already well known to United States' students, and thus can be introduced immediately in class discussion, quickly expanding students' vocabulary. It also seems fair to suggest that the likelihood of United States' students needing to use Spanish to communicate with a Mexican or a Mexican-American is relatively high. Nevertheless, "too Mexican" is a frequent comment. It is my personal belief that this criticism makes more of a statement about socio-political attitudes in the United States than about language.

2) A second area of criticism is against just the opposite: that of peninsular usage. If the criticism "too Mexican" is said with disdain, the dislike for what is perceived to be peninsular usage is often expressed with a fair amount of hostility. Comments are written with exclamation points, and they include statements such as these: "You only say that in Spain. My students don't need it!" Again, I suspect that this reaction is more of a socio-political one. The problem is also seen frequently,

as you know, at the upper division literature level, where peninsular and Latin American specialists vie for positions.

3) A third criticism is that of the inclusion of local color, both through vocabulary and cultural information, which are often criticized as being too regional. These reactions, as I see them, often have to do with the instructor's lack of experience with, or knowledge about, a specific region. The criticism is often stated in this way: "If I don't know this word, then why do my students need to know it?" It seems to me that in a classroom with a truly global perspective, that question would not be a valid one. I also feel that, in fact, the instructor's own possible lack of knowledge about a given area is precisely a reason to include such material in the text. It is not a bad thing to learn from the textbook that one is using; while every word, phrase, and dialogue should not be highly regional or unfamiliar, it seems fair to suggest that the instructor might learn just a little from his or her textbook, even a beginning one.

My remarks up to this point have been limited to current problems and ways of handling them, ways of addressing them, or of reacting to them. I'd like to move now into the second part of this paper, which has to do with what should be done in textbooks with the problems that global language presents. If my remarks in the first half were based primarily on experience, rather than on research, my remarks from here on are even more personal and do represent only my opinion, and not the opinions of the entire authorial team of *Puntos de partida* at Random House.

To begin: I feel that our current position, which is essentially the same as that taken by other writing teams and other companies, is a correct one. Given the number of variants that exist in the Spanish speaking world for common, everyday words, I think that authorial teams and editors must continue to make judgment calls about what words or expressions to use in a given context. When a recognized academic body produces a list of "basic" vocabulary to use, we will be delighted to follow that list, reserving the right to give peninsular and Latin American variations for important words, as we do now. Both our current decision-making process and the use of a list of

this type have the effect of creating "sanitized" language in Spanish textbooks, but I think that for students learning Spanish in the United States today, there is no choice. Skewing vocabulary selections toward one hemisphere or another, or toward one country or another, or toward Spanish as it is spoken in the United States today, would have the effect of limiting students' options, or leading them to believe that the language they are learning is universal, when, in fact, it is not.

It is often suggested by reviewers and users of textbooks that publishing companies should publish two versions of textbooks, one for teachers whose orientation is Latin America, and another for those who are more interested in Spain. This is not currently practical from a business point of view; not only is the students' textbook involved, but there is also the question of the ancillary package: the workbook, lab manual, tape program, testing package, and other optional materials. Producing two versions of a textbook is simply not presently feasible. I also feel that language teachers in this country are not as clearly divided in their preferences for Latin American Spanish, or peninsular, or for that matter United States Spanish, as some reviewers would like to think. My own sense is that whole departments are often as hybrid in their preferences as is the Puntos de partida authorial team, and that presenting faculties with a pair of textbooks each of which uses a different version of Spanish would only make their decision a more difficult one.

If, as I am suggesting, the current position most authors and publishers take on vocabulary selection is the correct one, then what happens to the student vis-à-vis the global language that we know Spanish to be? That question leads me to my second point: I believe that what textbooks should be doing in the area of vocabulary is not to teach all the variations of the global language, but to teach students strategies for dealing with vocabulary variations. To put it another way, learning a number of strategic competencies is one of the most important things a language learner can do. If we accept the fact that we cannot teach students to understand or say every word that they are going to need, then we must

teach them that they are probably not going to understand everything, that it is all right not to know every word at any given point, and that there are ways to handle those communication gaps. We must teach students how to ask for explanations of vocabulary that they don't understand, how to ask natives to repeat the message when they cannot catch it the first time, and how to say in an alternate way what they do not know how to say in a specific way.

Strategic competencies of these types do constitute material that can and should be taught in the foreign language classroom. It is my belief that a major focus of the beginning language classroom should be on functions of the following kinds: 1) How does one ask for clarification in Spanish? Saying *¿cómo?* is not necessarily enough. It is more useful to ask for specific information. Learning how to ask the right question to get the information you need is an important language function that needs to be explicitly taught. 2) How does one say what one does not know how to say in Spanish? What do you do when you don't know the word for something? Pointing is a strategy that can work in some contexts, and *esto/eso/aquello* (this, that, that there), can help part of the time. But it is the more sophisticated skills of circumlocution and paraphrase that can help us get a message across when we don't know the specific words. Exercises that teach students to paraphrase can seem simple-minded to instructors: "my grandfather is my father's father," "a ranch is where a rancher lives," and so on. Yet true survival skills are being taught when students practice vocabulary in this context.

I have not explicitly stated in this talk, and would like to do so now, that I believe vocabulary acquisition in itself to be a primary goal in the beginning language classroom. Vocabulary acquisition, combined with strategic competencies for dealing with vocabulary, are simply too crucial to communication to be ignored. This material is not, unfortunately, the focus of instruction in most beginning language classes, where there is currently an emphasis on the acquisition of large amounts of syntax and on grammatical correctness. Let me read a brief

quote from "Research within Reach," a recent ACTFL publication:

Errors that generally impede the intelligibility of a message include the misuse of a preposition or pronoun, the deletion or insertion of a word, or inadequate lexical knowledge. These kinds of errors are called global errors. On the other hand, errors that generally do not cause misunderstanding of a message are local errors such as gender mistakes, lack of subject-verb agreement or adjectival agreement. (Thomas C. Cooper, editor, "Research within Reach," ACTFL-SCOLT Task Force on Foreign Language Education, Agee Publishers, Inc., Athens, Ga., p. 31.)

I have selected this quote to support my sense of the importance of vocabulary for communicative purposes, not to make a statement about error correction in general, although we could certainly talk about that topic as well! Using the wrong word, or not understanding a word that another person has used, is a major cause of errors in communication. If our goal is to teach for communication, for proficient language use by our students, then we must pay more attention than we have done in the past to vocabulary and to strategic competencies dealing with vocabulary.

Textbooks can address the challenge posed by Spanish as a global language in another way, and this is my third point. While vocabulary taught for production, for speaking and writing, may need to remain "sanitized," acceptable to all speakers, there is no reason to assume that receptive language must be standardized. Yet the majority of what our students read in beginning textbooks today is sanitized, and the majority of Spanish used by instructors in the classroom is similarly standard. In the area of reading materials, we are starting to see major changes today, and we will continue to see more, as new textbooks incorporate authentic reading materials to greater and greater extents. The use of such authentic materials, with all of their lexical and syntactic

variations, will have a number of positive effects, in my opinion. 1) The use of authentic materials will really bring global language into the classroom. 2) Authentic materials will bring Hispanic cultures in their diversity into the classroom, and thus help to eliminate the monolithic image of one single Hispanic culture that our students seem to bring with them. 3) The use of authentic materials will help those of our students who do go abroad, not the majority, certainly, to become more able to cope with the authentic materials that they are going to find in Colombia, Argentina, Spain, and so on. 4) Finally, authentic materials will help our students learn better, since they will challenge students to reach beyond their current level. One of the clearest messages of current research on language acquisition is that students learn more and better when exposed to such challenging materials: materials not exactly at their level of proficiency, but materials that force them to stretch, to reach.

Up to this point, I have stressed the need for textbooks to incorporate global language and strategies for dealing with global language, but there is a final point that I would like to make. It is that we need to be equally concerned that students have the vocabulary they need to talk about aspects of their own lives, even if some of those things have no equivalent in the Hispanic world. Students do need words for fast food, for fraternity and sorority, for VCR, for punk rock, for shopping mall, and so on. I mention this phenomenon because I have frequently seen native speakers, in particular, react negatively to attempts to provide this kind of vocabulary in textbooks, or even to introduce them as topics of conversation. The material of the foreign language classroom cannot, I believe, be exclusively based in the foreign culture; it must take into consideration what students need to express themselves when talking about their own culture in the foreign language. It is in this area in particular that the textbook author can be of only limited help, since he or she is generally writing at least three years before materials are published, and since a textbook will remain in use for many years after its initial publication,

especially at the high school level. In addition, it is impossible for the textbook author to know the language needs of students in a particular area. Thus there is a need for the instructor to create specialized, personal vocabulary for his or her own students.

It may seem contradictory for an author and editor to suggest that instructors need to go beyond their textbooks, but if there is one thought that you take with you from this presentation, I hope that it is precisely that. I personally feel that the major problem with textbooks is that they too frequently become the curriculum, instead of being the basis for the curriculum. No textbook can create an exciting or an ideal language learning environment all by itself. The question to ask is not what is the material that this textbook presents, but how can I supplement that material? What can I add to it? How can I bring my experiences in the global language community into the classroom, if I am using this textbook? What other materials can I use that will be complementary, that will expand the classroom beyond its four walls? The textbook is only the place to begin to build, it is not the finished house. If the materials, that we as authors and editors create, provide you with a foundation on which to build, then, perhaps, we will have provided a good beginning.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES

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At present (1986) there are eleven Slavic (alternately called Slovanic) languages spoken by over 280 million people. These languages can be divided into three groups: a) the East-Slavic languages spoken by 200 million people, b) the West-Slavic languages spoken by 50 million, and c) the South-Slavic languages spoken by 30 million people.

The East-Slavic group includes Russian (more than 140 million), Ukrainian (more than 40 million), and Byelorussian (8 million). The West-Slavic group of languages includes Polish (35 million), Czech (10 million), Slovak (5 million), Lusatian (100,000). The South-Slavic group includes Serbo-Croatian (17 million), Bulgarian (9 million), Slovenian (2 million), and Macedonian (1.5 million). The Slavic languages are in fifth place when ranked according to the number of people speaking them, following these language groups of the world: Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Iranian, Romance, and the Germanic group.

The Slavs (otherwise known as Slovans) originally, as a group, inhabited Eastern Europe between the Oder and the Dnieper Rivers. In the period of the great migrations around 500 A.D., the Slavs began to settle broader areas of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. These migrations to new settlements lasted for about 200 years. Today the Slavic language areas basically comprise the eastern part of Europe and the Balkans, but these areas are not contiguous, for they are interrupted by strips of German, Hungarian, and Roumanian language territories.

The original language of today's Slavs (or Slovans) was Proto-Slavic, and thus in all the Slavic languages there are more than 10% of the words which can be considered identical with the original Proto-Slavic terms. They are all short words, mono- or bi-syllabic, and they are generally the names of objects which are close to, or identified with, humans. These include names for parts of the body, family kinships, domestic or household items, and depictions of man's basic activities. Besides these terms, they also include the most frequent verbs, deictic

pronouns and adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and cardinal numbers. For these, the oldest words in the Slavic languages, their characteristic is that their paradigms are irregular. However, in the course of time some shifting occurred both among nations as well as among languages. This took place under the influence of colonizations and wars that surged from the ninth century through the twentieth century, up to the end of World War II. During this period many non-Slavic words were incorporated by the Slavs (Slovans) into their languages, as for instance, words from German, Turkish, Greek, Italian, as well as from other non-Slavic languages. All of the words which penetrated to the Slavic languages through personal contacts were, in the course of time, nativized, that is, adjusted to and acclimated by the native system, assuming the phonetic features characteristic of the Slavic languages. Such borrowed words from other families of languages merged with the Slavic paradigms and became indistinguishable from other native, originally Slavic words.

The evolution of the different Slovanic languages went on incessantly. Circumstances such as the establishment of universities, or such as the period of national enlightenment in Europe in the nineteenth century, also created great influences on the development of the national languages. They were affected as well by the development of science, technology, and the broadened possibilities for travel. Thus the Slavic idioms accepted words used in politics, and in diplomacy, such as minister, parlament, kompliment, adresa. Other borrowings came from sources like the Italian musical terminology, or from the names for food in German, English, and other tongues. The Slavic idioms today use imported words from more than 30 other different tongues, and they are words which have been acclimated or nativized to such an extent that they can hardly be distinguished from words indigenous to the Slavic family.

The most apparent development in vocabularies of the Slavic languages through the importation of foreign words begins after World War II. It centers particularly on the post-war development of society, technology, and industry. The demands of international communication and

international contacts increased the vast development of international trade. But at this stage of the development, words taken over from other cultures by means of personal contacts, are also acclimated and are given features peculiar to the original Slavic terms. From about the middle of the twentieth century it is possible to trace the process of linguistic borrowings into the Slovanic tongues both through grammatical adaptation and phonetic assimilation. In the Slovník slovenského jazyka (The Dictionary of the Slovak Language), which contains 130,000 words, there are now more than 8000 words taken from German, about 3000 from French, and about 2000 from English, which means that in terms of the vocabulary of Slovak, a relatively young Slovanic language, there are about 10% of its words that arise from other idioms. The situation is similar in this respect in the other Slavic languages as well.

At the beginning of the second half of this century, that is around 1950, many neologisms were created in all languages of the world, because there arose new concepts along with a great number of new industrial products that appeared requiring new names. Today this phenomenon affects all of the Slovanic languages. New words are formed by them analogically to the other languages of the world. It is inevitable that international words would be added to the large Slavic family, as to any other family.

Here we have to mention the fact that in Slavic linguistics, we distinguish loan words which are taken from one language by another and are domesticated into its system. The international words, on the other hand, are the words which are known in more than two languages of different families, like Germanic or Romance, or which appear in approximately the same form in both families.

How the international words join the Slavic lexical corpus is the next consideration. While the so-called loan words get to the language directly, through oral speech resulting from personal contacts, the international words are taken over indirectly, primarily through the written language. The loan words are commonly used in the language, as any of the domestic words, that is in dialogical speech, or in literary texts, but the

international words are mostly used in the language of journalists, or in published administrative and scientific texts. In today's daily papers published regularly in the various Slavic tongues, it has been noted that more than 15% of the newspapers' texts are comprised by international words. The situation is even more evident in scientific treatises. There, depending on their nature, there are sometimes more than 20% of the words that belong to the international category.

Where do the international words originate? International terms in the Slavic family are mostly of Greek or Latin origin, although they may get to the Slavic languages through other modern languages like French, Spanish, Italian or English. The fact that they are words of Greek or Latin origin is apparent by their affixes and their phonetic composition. In the international words found in Slavic, there is a great number of the following prefixes: *a-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, *im-*, *in-*, *kon-*, *kontra-*, *pro-*, *re-*, *trans-*, and *sub-*. There is the presence of the following morphemes: *-bio-*, *-acro-*, *-auto-*, *-geo-*, *-hydr-*, *-mikro-*, *-makro-*, *-morfo-*, *-uni-*, *-poly-*, *-mono-*, *-tele-*, *-foto-*, *-elektro-*, *-centr-*, *-graf-*, *-port-*, *-skop-*, and *-gram-*. In each Slavonic language, there are about 8,000-10,000 words that end in *-ismus*, *-lóg*, *-cia*, *-sta*, *-tor*, and *-óza*.

International terms are taken into the Slavic lexicon most frequently in their nominative forms from which adjectives and verbs are derived, and in this way the number of international words in the Slavic languages is multiplied. The most productive types of verbs in most of the idioms known today are those that have endings *-ize* in English, *-izar* in Spanish, *-izer* in French, *-isieren* in German and *-ovat'* in the Slavic languages, e. g., to formalize, to mechanize, to realize, which in Slovak are: formalizovat', mechanizovat', realizovat', etc.

International words consist primarily of independent substantives, and only in exceptional cases are they grammatical or functional words with a basis in Latin, e. g., *et*, *pro*, *ad*, *sub*, *in*, *circa*, *ex*, *sine*, etc.

The internationalization in the Slavic languages is not a symmetrical one, much less identical in the Slavic family. After the disintegration of Proto-Slavic, these

languages did not achieve independence either in the same chronological period nor in the same manner. Along with these Slavic languages which have been independent for several centuries like Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Czech, and Polish, there is also the Slovak tongue, which, as an independent entity in the form of a standard language is only 140 years old, while standard Macedonian is more youthful yet, and has been independent for only 40 years. The older Slavic languages are, as a general rule, more resistant to the influence of international words than are the younger ones. In the older idioms (Russian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian) indirect purism can be detected when new terms are formed from their own words. Nevertheless, all the Slavic languages are growing more and more tolerant of the encroachments of inevitable internationalization. This tolerance to the propagation and usage of international vocabulary in the Slavic language group is considered a positive and perfectly normal and acceptable phenomenon, since the international words tend to make global communication much easier.

The power of international vocabulary, i.e., of the globolect, to penetrate into any given Slavic idiom depends to a great extent on the territorial position of that particular Slavic language within the European community, as well as on its own morphological makeup. Thus, for example, the fact that Slovak is surrounded by five languages (German, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Czech), and is located almost in the center of Europe, causes it to be one of the most open and tolerant of the Slavic tongues to international words. The situation is approximately the same for the Czech and for the South-Slavic group, all of which are also in continuous contact with other linguistic entities.

The main obstacle, though in itself a minor one, to the reception of international words into the Slavic family is a morphological rather than psychological or chauvinistic reason and it is the fact that the Slavic languages have retained a declensional, synthetic and inflected system, while most of the languages from which the new words are borrowed, are undeclined and analytical in nature, especially English, and to some extent French, Italian and Spanish. The uninflected, analytical idioms of

the East, like Chinese, have as yet contributed little that is detectable in the Slavic lexical corpus, although their influence may in time become more significant and more apparent.

How, then, are international words formed and treated in the Slavic languages? Many are taken from their sources in their original, or nearly original phonetic form, and as a result now there are in the Slavic tongues some undeclined or non-inflected words, as Slovak: klišé, atašé, filé, ragu, depo, finále, tabu, glazé, whisky, and nóbl. In the spoken form, some international words change the intensity accent of their syllables to that of quantity, through which they are converted closer to Slavic terms, in which syllabic duration often comprises phonemic value. This is apparent in the Slovak words ending in -lóg, -ácia, -ícia, -úcia, and -átor. (Examples: biológ, ekológia, favorozácia, amortizácia, opozícia, revolúcia, operátor.) In some Slovak loan words, phonetic modifications are clearly observable in speech. Some voiceless consonants are assimilated to voiced ones, (disharmónia /dizharmónia/, exaktný /egzaktný/). Many of the imported terms are written phonetically: žurnál, ranč, kanasta, chunta, bufet, tím, futbal, hokej, skeč, bridž, vškend, kšeft, and majster. And, then, a great majority of the words are aligned with certain paradigms, so that they can be declined or conjugated along with the native items: civilizácia (nominative), civilizácie (genitive), civilizácii (dative), civilizáciu (accusative); montovať (infinitive), montujem (1st. sg.), montujú (3rd pl.); delegovať (infinitive), delegujem (1st sg.), deleguješ (2nd sg.), deleguje (3rd sg.), delegoval (preterit, 3rd sg.), and delegujúc (gerund). Basically, the international words, by definition, are not calques, that is they are not translated; they are only modified or partially transformed to fit certain grammatical and phonological domestic patterns. The meaning of borrowed international words is, however, sometimes shifted slightly. For instance, the Slovak words guráž "pluck," (French, le courage), has a slightly less intense meaning than it has in the original French. But some international phrases are taken verbatim, semantically and orthographically, like altera pars, faux pas, en bloc, ex privata industria, last but not least, who

is who, manu propria, and are used fairly frequently in Slovak. Additional words which are taken over by the Slavic languages such as petrified expressions, undergoing no noticeable changes, are words as, for example, Spanish sombrero, Arabic hašiš, English dingo, Bantu ise-ise, Persian šach, English kivi, Norwegian fjord, French barok, French causerie, Portuguese kokos, French nonpareille, Italian adagio, Spanish rodeo, and Italian dolce. It is interesting, as well as remarkable that transference of borrowings among the Slavic languages themselves hardly exists. Nevertheless, there are some words, such as the following that were transferred to other Slavic as well as to non-Slavic groups from Russian: Slovak, bolševik, "bolshhevik," kolchoz "kolkhoz," sovchoz "sovkhoz," sputnik, soviet, komsomol, úderník "shock worker," kosmonauta "cosmonaut," etc.

How is internationalization of the Slavic languages handled by lexicographers? In this linguistic family there are usually two basic lexicons. One contains a greater volume of words and is considered the lexicon of the standard language, while the other is always somewhat smaller, and is the so-called dictionary of foreign words. The former includes the registry and meanings of the words commonly considered as native or domestic words, regardless of their origin. The latter --the dictionary of foreign words-- includes the list of words which are still recognized and considered as foreign, those that are not quite domesticated. The criterion by which the entries of these words are determined for one or the other lexicon is only an empirical one, and is dictated by the sheer frequency of the individual terms. Some words are listed in both dictionaries at the same time, and constitute what are international terms in the true sense of the word.

Aside from the dictionaries just mentioned, there are also the scientific dictionaries. Their conception in the various Slavic languages is not uniform, since in some of these, the scientific terms are incorporated into the lexicons of the standard language, while in other idioms they are not. Due to this fact, it is difficult to compare the full extent of the current, quotidian vocabularies of the Slavic tongues. Thus, for example, there are 250,000 words in Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (The

Dictionary of the Literary Czech Language), and only 130,000 words appear in the Slovník slovenského jazyka (The Dictionary of the Slovak Language). In Russian, as in so many other languages, there exist several lexicons with considerable differences in their volumes. For example, the dictionary from the years 1948 - 1964 has 17 volumes in which there are 130,000 words; the one from the years 1957 - 1961 has only four volumes, but like Ushakov's dictionary, it encompasses 230,000 words. Quite different is the more modest Ozhegov's dictionary in which there are only 55,000 words, but in each new edition of this dictionary there are more and more international words. International vocabulary is used in such writings which transcend political boundaries. They are found for the most part in journalistic or scientific texts. Those international words that are found in the domestic speech are connected with names of new industrial products. Approximately 500 new international words are added to the Slavic languages each year.

Finally, to further the cause of the globolect, we may ask the question, if it would be possible in practice to transfer the foreign journalistic lexical texts into the Slavic languages, and at the same time retain the native Slavic grammar? Basically, the answer can be affirmative. As a corollary to the first question, would it be possible to simplify the grammatical system of the Slavic languages to accommodate the demands of the journalistic texts? Here again the answer is affirmative. If we bear in mind such scientific and journalistic texts which are grammatically simple and schematic, then the internationalization of the Slavic languages can be considered a simple process of modernization which will gradually extend each Slavic idiom beyond its national frontiers and into the realm of the surging global society.

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